

Scotha cennderca cen on:

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Edited by

Ailbhe Ó Corráin, Fionntán de Brún and Maxim Fomin



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ROIBEARD Ó MAOLÁLAIGH

Lexical and phonological variation in words for 'ankle' in Gaelic

1. Introduction

1.1 Earlier language

Words for 'ankle', 'ankle bone' and the area near the ankle provide particularly rich evidence for lexical, phonological and semantic developments in the Gaelic languages.¹ Of the four earlier attested words associated with 'ankle', i.e. *lárac*, *mudorn*, *odbrann*, *seir* (*eDIL* s.vv.), reflexes of the latter three survive into modern times. As we shall see a number of other etymons develop the meaning of 'ankle' through metaphorical and metonymical extension of meaning. The single instance of *lárac* translated as 'ankle' may be problematic. Gwynn translates *lárac* as 'ankle' in the *dindshenchas* poem, 'Amra in mag imríadat fir', in which Mac Coba ensnares himself in a self-made trap to his own detriment:

Tindlis a láim, a **láraic**,
a chois is a chóel-bragait,
co torchair Coba cadla
'na chuthig maith mór-amra.

He caught his hand and **ankle**, his foot and slender neck: so comely Coba perished in his fine far-famed pitfall. [emphasis added] (Gwynn [1903–35] 1991: IV, 124–25).

The word *loärc* / *laärc* (*eDIL* s.v. *lárac*) usually means 'upper part of leg, thigh, hip', and any of these meanings might suffice to translate *lárac* in this poem. Gwynn's translation as 'ankle' must therefore be treated with caution. The word survives in Modern Irish meaning 'leg, thigh' and as a toponymical

¹ Some time after the successful completion of the NUI Travelling Studentship examinations in Irish in 1988, Professor Séamus Mac Mathúna, one of the many NUI professorial examiners, was kind enough to compliment me on my dialect and linguistic papers. It is a great pleasure more than 30 years later to contribute a piece on Gaelic dialectology and lexicology to the present volume in Professor Mac Mathúna's honour: *fear uasal ionraic Gaelach, sárscoláire, ceannaire ceannródaíoch agus cara maith*.

element in Scottish Gaelic meaning ‘pass’ but never with the meaning of ‘ankle’. *Loàrc* / *laärc* survives in Donegal as *láiric* **lɑ:r’ik’** (‘thigh’) (Quiggin 1906: 45, §114), *láirc* **lɛ:rk’** (‘leg’) (Lucas 1979: 55, §216) and *láirig* (‘leg (above knee)’) (Mac Maoláin [1933] 1992: 99); in Achill as *láiriceacha* (pl.) **lɑ:r’ik’axə** (‘legs’) (Stockman 1974: 38, §351); in Rathlin as *láirc* **lɑ:r’ik’** (‘thigh’) (*LASID* IV 18, vocabulary, pt 67) and in Scotland as the place-name element *làirig* meaning ‘pass’; Watson suggests the meaning ‘fork’ (Watson [1926] 1993: 483-485); cf. MacBain [1896] 1982: 222; *Dwelly* s.v.). Lhuyd has the form *laric* for ‘cliff’ from an Argyllshire informant, which seems to represent the same word (Campbell and Thomson 1963: 104, II.77); in his ‘Appendix’, however, ‘*larik*’ appears under the Latin headword *collis* (‘hill’) (Lhuyd [1707] 1971: 295); Campbell and Thomson (1963: 231). Lhuyd’s ‘Irish-English Dictionary’ ([1707] 1971: s.v.) has *lairge* (‘a leg, a thigh’) with which he erroneously associates the form ‘*luirgnibh*’. For the historical development of this word, see T.F. O’Rahilly (1942a: 123-124).

1.2 Present study

The present study is based for the most part on the Scottish and Irish linguistic surveys, *SGDS* (46) and *LASID* (q. 461), but is complemented by many other sources, including the *Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic* (*DASG* and *DASG-FA*), for which see Ó Maolalaigh (2016b). Taken together, Gaelic dialects provide 19 discrete underlying (historical) etymons in more than fifty distinct phonological forms, with the vast majority of etymons and phonological variants found in Scottish Gaelic (ScG); see Table 1.²

	Distinct Etymons	Phonological Forms
Irish	5	9
Manx	2	2
Scottish Gaelic	17/18	45
TOTAL UNIQUE FORMS	19/20	54

Table 1: Number of distinct historical etymons and phonological variants

The nineteen (or possibly twenty) distinct etymons which mean or can mean ‘ankle’ in the modern Gaelic languages are given in alphabetic order in Table 2 along with an indication of their occurrence in each language.³

² I have not included here words for ‘twisted ankle’ such as *sīochan* (‘twisted ankle’), *siachadh* (‘twist as in twisted ankle’), *siochadh* (‘going over on the ankle’) (all from South Uist, *DASG-FA*), *sgiuchadh* ‘s an adhbrann (‘twisted ankle’) (Harris, *DASG-FA*), *bailc* (‘twisted or misshapen foot or ankle’ [from an Ardnamuchan informant]) (*Dwelly* s.v.); cf. *siach* (‘sprain, strain a joint’) (MacBain ([1896] 1982: 321) and *siach*, *siachadh* (*Dwelly* s.vv.); *sgaoch* (‘sprained ankle’) (Easter Ross; Seosamh Watson, personal communication).

³ I have not included here *ceannchosach* (*Is caol an cheannchosach atá air* ‘he is slender about the ankles’) or *giallfach* (‘ankle, slender part, of stocking’) (*FGB* s.vv.).

Etymons	Irish	Manx	Scottish Gaelic	Total
<i>adhbrann</i>	Ø	√	√	
<i>alt</i>	√	Ø	(√) ⁴	
<i>buinnean</i>	Ø	Ø	√	
<i>buin(n)teog</i> [?]	√	Ø	Ø	
<i>caol na coise</i>	√	Ø	√	
<i>cnàimh-beag</i>	Ø	Ø	√	
<i>cuilean</i>	Ø	Ø	√	
<i>luidhean</i>	Ø	Ø	√	
<i>luinnean</i>	Ø	Ø	√	
<i>luirg</i>	Ø	Ø	√	
<i>luirgeann</i> [?]	Ø	Ø	√	
<i>mudharn</i>	√	Ø	√	
<i>muircinn</i>	Ø	Ø	√	
<i>mwnnal</i> (y) <i>c(h)ass</i>	Ø	√	Ø	
<i>rúitín</i>	√	Ø	√	
<i>seirean</i>	Ø	Ø	√	
<i>speir</i>	Ø	Ø	√	
<i>troigh</i> [?]	Ø	Ø	√	
<i>ubhall</i> (na cas; mo / do chas)	Ø	Ø	√	
<i>Uinnean</i>	Ø	Ø	√	
TOTAL NUMBER	5	2	17/18	19/20

Table 2: Distinct etymons⁵

Manx and Scottish Gaelic group together in retaining reflexes of *adhbrann* (earlier *odbrann*, *fodbrann*), with the meaning ‘ankle’. In Irish, the form (f)*adhbairne* (**f**)*əibirni*, meaning ‘a large globular shape (of a stone or potato)’, survives in some southern Munster dialects (Ó Cuív 1947: 3); cf. *adhbairne* ~ *fadhbairne* (‘a large lump’) (Dinneen [1927] 1953: s.v. *adhbairne*). Reflexes of *mudharn* (for spelling, see §2.11), *caol na coise* and *rúitín* (ScG *ruitean* = [?] *rùitean*) occur in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic but not in Manx. *Mwnnal* (y) *c(h)ass* occurs exclusively in Manx. *Alt* and *buin(n)teog* are confined to Irish,⁶ and all remaining etymons occur exclusively in Scottish Gaelic. The nineteen (or twenty) etymons and transcriptions or orthographical versions of their distinct phonological forms are given in

⁴ I have noted one instance of *alt* in Scottish Gaelic with the meaning of ‘horse’s ankle’ (see §2.2).

⁵ *Stòr-Dàta* (25, s.v. *ankle*) lists 10 forms: *adhbrann* (masc.), *caol na coise* (masc.), *muthairne* (masc.), *aoinean* (masc.), *innean* (masc.), *luighean* (masc.), *muircean* (masc.), *muircinn* (fem.), *seirean* (masc.), *ubhal na coise* (masc.). De Bhaldraithe (1959: s.v. *ankle*) notes *murnán* and *rúitín* for Irish and *alt murnáin* for ‘ankle-joint’.

⁶ But see n. 4.

Table 3. All forms in Table 3 are transcribed from either *SGDS* or *LASID* unless otherwise stated. The *SGDS* and *LASID* forms are mapped in Maps 1-4.⁷

Etymons	Phonological and Lexical Variants	Number of distinct phonological forms ⁸
<i>adhbrann</i>	Manx: <i>abane</i> (Broderick 1984–86) ScG: <i>adharpann</i> , <i>adhbairne</i> , <i>adhbairt</i> , <i>adhbaran</i> , <i>adhbarann</i> , <i>adhbaránn</i> , ⁹ <i>adhbarn</i> , <i>adhbart</i> , <i>adhbrainn</i> , <i>adhbran</i> , <i>adhbrann</i> , ¹⁰ <i>aobhrann</i> (= <i>adhbhrann</i>) (Calder [1923] and Mac-Eachainn [1842] 1922), <i>adhbránn</i> , <i>adhprann</i> , <i>adhrabard</i> (= <i>adhrabart</i>) (<i>DASG</i>), <i>adhrban</i> , <i>adhrbrann</i> (<i>LASID</i>), <i>adhrbann</i> , <i>adhrpatan(n)</i> , ¹¹ <i>adhrpáinn</i> , <i>adhrpánn</i> , <i>faobrann</i> (= <i>fadhbrann</i>) (MacAlpine ([1832] 1955), <i>àbruid</i> (= <i>àbraid</i>) (Clyne 1991)	1 23
<i>alt</i>	Irish: <i>alt</i> , <i>alt na coise</i> (<i>alt mo choise</i> , etc.), <i>alt murnáin</i> (de Bhaldraithe 1959)	1
<i>buinnean</i>	ScG: <i>buinnean</i>	1
<i>buin(n)teog</i> [?]	Irish: <i>buin(n)teogaí</i> [?] (pl.)	1
<i>caol na coise</i>	Irish and ScG: <i>caol na coise</i>	1
<i>cnàimh-beag</i>	ScG <i>an cnàimh-beag</i> , <i>cnàimh bheag</i>	1

⁷ There are 24 (11.6%) gaps in the returns for the headword *aobrann* / ‘ankle’ in *SGDS* (46). In *LASID* (q. 461) the number and percentage of nil returns for ‘ankle’ is much higher at 40 (43%); this is calculated from 93 points (i.e. pts 1-88, 22a, 43a, 74a, 83a, 86a). Gaps / nil returns are marked with ‘x’ in Maps 1-4.

⁸ Only phonological variants of the main generic element are counted; orthographic variants of the same phonological form are counted as being the same, e.g. *mughairne* and *muthairne*.

⁹ I have transcribed clear vowel + [n] (including alveo-dental, i.e. [n] with half wedge, pt 64) as *-an*, and clear vowel + [n̥] as *-ánn*.

¹⁰ The form *adhbrann* includes instances of velarised *r*, e.g. *r̥* (points 4, 11) and *r̥* (point 13).

¹¹ It is not clear whether this form represents a plural form of *adhrpat* or a mixed form *adhrpatann*, hence my representation of this form as *adhrpatan(n)*. The *SGDS* (46, pt 168) form is *ḡchp̃t̃t̃n*. Anthony Dilworth’s original fieldwork transcription reads *ḡchp̃t̃t̃n*. According to Cathair Ó Dochartaigh’s transcriptional principles, this should have appeared as *ḡrp̃t̃t̃n*^(c) in the published materials. The original fieldwork notes seem not to have been available to Ó Dochartaigh before publication of *SGDS* and he seems to have relied on Kenneth Jackson’s copy of Dilworth’s transcriptions; Jackson did not always signify when he had transcribed Dilworth’s [n] as [n̥]; see *SGDS* I: 125, §7.7.3 for discussion.

<i>cuilean</i>	ScG: <i>cuilean</i> ('ankle-bone') (<i>Dwelly</i>), <i>cuileanan na coise</i>	1
<i>luidhean</i>	ScG: <i>luidhean</i>	1
<i>luinnean</i>	ScG: <i>luinnean</i>	1
<i>luirg</i>	ScG: <i>luirg</i>	1
<i>luirgeann</i> [?]	ScG: <i>luirgeann</i> [?]	1
<i>mudharn</i>	Irish: <i>múrna</i> , <i>múirle</i> , <i>múrnán</i> , <i>mórnán</i> , <i>múrlán</i> , <i>cnámh (an) m(h)urnáin</i> (<i>FGB</i>)	5
	ScG: <i>mughairne</i> (cf. <i>muthairne</i> , A. Mac- Donald 1741), <i>mughairn</i> (MacAlpine [1832] 1955; Jones 2010; cf. <i>muthairn</i> , J. F. Campbell [1860] 1983), <i>mùrainn</i> , <i>mughairle</i> (cf. <i>muthairle</i> , <i>DASG</i>), <i>mughraile</i> (Calder [1923]) ¹²	5
<i>muircinn</i>	ScG: <i>muircinn</i> , <i>murcainn</i> , <i>muircean</i> (<i>Stòr-Dàta</i>)	3
<i>mwnnal</i> (y) <i>c(h)ass</i>	<i>mwnnal cass</i> , <i>mwnnal y chass</i>	1
<i>rúitín</i>	Irish: <i>rúitín</i> ScG: <i>ruitean</i>	2
<i>seirean</i>	ScG: <i>seirean</i>	1
<i>speir</i>	ScG: <i>speir</i>	1
<i>troigh</i> [?]	ScG: <i>troigh</i> [?]	1
<i>ubhall</i> (na cas)	ScG: <i>ubhall</i> , <i>ubhall na cas</i> ; <i>ubhall do</i> <i>chas</i> / <i>ubhall mo chas</i> (Ó Murchú 1989: 422)	1
<i>uinnean</i>	ScG: <i>uinnean</i> ; <i>innean</i> , <i>aoinean</i> (<i>Stòr- Dàta</i>)	1 ¹³
TOTAL		55

Table 3: Phonological variants

¹² *Dwelly* (s.vv.) lists *mathairne* and *mathairneag* and cross-refers to *mughairn*. However, these forms do not relate to 'ankle' but are rather diminutive hypocoristic forms of *màthair*. *Dwelly*'s *mughairn* here can be related to the Uist form *muthairn* ('little mother, dear little mother'), noted with variants *mathairne*, *mathairneag*, *mathaireag* by Carmichael (*CG* II 332). Angus Matheson suggests that *muthairn* is a mistake for *màthairn* (*CG* VI 248). However, *muthairn* could be a genuine form which shows contamination with *mùrn* ('darling, maiden, etc.'), *mùirn* ('cheerfulness, etc.') and *mùirneag* ('cheerful woman or girl, darling, beloved woman, etc.') (*Dwelly* s.v.; *CG* II 332).

¹³ I take these three orthographic variants to represent the same underlying phonological form.

2. Discussion of lexical and phonological developments

In what follows each etymon and its phonological variants are discussed in turn, focusing on phonological and semantic developments as well as geographical distribution and etymology.

2.1 *odbrann*

As noted above, reflexes of *odbrann* meaning ‘ankle’ occur only in Scottish Gaelic and Manx.¹⁴ The northern distribution of *adhbrann* and its reflexes, and its absence from Modern Irish dialects in the meaning ‘ankle’, suggests that *adhbrann* (‘ankle’) may have been predominantly a northern dialectal form in the medieval period. Forms found in the older language are *odbrann*, *fodbrann* and *adbrann* (*eDIL* s.v. *odbrann*). Its etymology is unclear. MacBain ([1896] 1982: 18-19) derives *odbrann* from **od-bronn*, **ud-brunn*, with proposed meaning ‘out-bulge’, and cites Stokes who takes *od-* to be for *pod* (‘foot’). This derivation from *bronn* / *brú* (‘abdomen, belly’) seems unlikely from a semantic point of view. Stokes (1898: 591) suggests a derivation from **odbarno-*, with first element *odb* (‘knot’) but without explaining the second element. It may be, as Vendryes (*LEIA* s.v.) suggests, that, if *odb* (‘knot, lump’, *eDIL* s.v.) is not the underlying element, then it might at least have played an influence in the development of the word. With *odbrann* we may compare Welsh *uffarn* (‘ankle’) and Breton *ufern*; cf. MacBain ([1896] 1982: 18). Building on Pokorny’s (2007: 896) derivation of the Brittonic forms from **opi-spernā*, David Stifter (personal communication) suggests that the derivation may be from **ozbo-sperno/ā* (i.e. *odb* + *sperno/ā* ‘heel’). This derivation would require the following development: *ozbo-sperno/ā* > **odbfarn* > **odbarn* (with simplification of the cluster **ðβf* to Old Gaelic *-db-*; for similar developments, see Stifter 2019: 209-10) > *odbran* (with metathesis of *r*) > *odbrann* (as a result of MacNeill’s Law, for which see Ó Buachalla 1988).¹⁵ If the Gaelic and British words are related, the British forms unambiguously support the original sequence **-ern*, in which case Gaelic *-ran-* must be due to metathesis. This would suggest that **odbarn* may have been the original form. It is possible that the original form is directly reflected in the Scottish Gaelic form *adhbarn* and its derivatives *adhba(ir)t* and *adhbairne* as well as the reconstructed Manx form **abarne* > *abane* and Irish (f)*adhbairne* (‘a large globular shape (of a stone or potato)’ (§1.2); see also §2.1.4 and §2.1.5 below.

¹⁴ In what follows I take *odbrann* to be the original form. However, given the etymology suggested by David Stifter (§2.1), it may be that the original underlying form is **odbarn*. Cf. *odbrann* < **odbarno-* (Stokes 1898: 591).

¹⁵ Stifter suggests tentatively (personal communication) that the Brittonic development could have been **ozbo-spernā* > **oðβfern* > **oifern* (through dissimilation) > *uffern*, etc.

Each phonological segment in historical **o+ð+b+r+ə+n** is subject to change which gives rise to what Ó Curnáin (2007, I: 65) has referred to as ‘hypervariables’ and ‘linguistic promiscuity’ in another more localised context; we may compare the development of *legman(n)* (‘moth’) and *fomóir* (‘giant’) in Scottish Gaelic (Ó Maolalaigh 2007; id. 2013). In what follows, each of the phonological variants and developments are discussed under the following headings: 2.1.1 Prothetic *f*-; 2.1.2 (*f*)*od[h]brann* > (*f*)*adhbrann*; 2.1.3 Vocalisation of *dh* / *gh*; 2.1.4 Initial vowel; 2.1.5 *r*-metathesis and *r*-loss; 2.1.6 *b* > *p*; 2.1.7 Vowel shortening; 2.1.8 Vowel splitting; 2.1.9 Epenthesis; 2.1.10 Palatalisation; 2.1.11 *-ann* > *-an*; 2.1.12 Stop in place of nasal: *-rn* > *-rt*; 2.1.13 *b[h]* > *b*; *b* > *bh* [ʔ]: *adhbhrann*; 2.1.14 Syllabic restructuring.

2.1.1 Prothetic *f*-

Prothetic *f* occurs in the older language and is attested, for instance, in the LU version of *Fled Bricrend* as *fodbrond*, where *adbrond* also occurs (Best and Bergin 1929: 259.8537/8525); cf. also *fodbrunn*, *fodbrondai*, cited in *eDIL* (s.v. *odbrann*). It also occurs at least twice in the early sixteenth-century Book of the Dean of Lismore: (1) in the poem ‘Naonbhar do-chuadhmar fá choill’, where it is found in the plural form *fadhbhrainn* (*faidhbrinn* [ʔ]) (MS ‘fybrin’) (‘ankles’) (Ross 1939: 88, §21d; Meek 1986: 58-59, §21d;¹⁶ Meek forthcoming: XVI, §21d); (2) in the poem ‘Iongnadh m’eachtra ’s mé ar ndeaghailt ré m’fhileadhaibh’, from the Early Modern tale *Aidedh Ferghusa mhic Léide*, as plural *a bhfadhbhr[anna]* (MS *wybr* [. . .]) (‘their ankles’) (Gillies 2007: 41), where it corresponds to ‘go fadbronnaib’ (‘to / as far as ankles’) in the Egerton manuscript version of the poem (BL MS 1782, ff. 30-34) (O’Grady 1892, I: 249). The only modern dialectal form I have noted with prothetic *f*- is Islay *foabrunn* (i.e. *faobrunn* < *fadhbrann*), recorded by MacAp-
line ([1832] 1955: 15); cf. Robertson (1907b: 235). We may also compare the Munster reflex (*f*)*adhbairne*, which denotes ‘a large globular shape’, used of stones and potatoes (Ó Cuív 1947: 3, s.v. *adhbairne*; cf. Dinneen [1927] 1953: s.v. *adhbairne*).

2.1.2 (*f*)*od[h]brann* > (*f*)*adhbrann*

The vast majority, if not all, of the Scottish Gaelic variant forms and the Manx form (*abane*) can be derived from an underlying form *adhbrann* (or *fadhbrann*) in which the original initial *o*-vowel has been unrounded and lowered to *a*, as older (*f*)*odhbrann* would be expected to yield *(**f**)**o:bræn** in modern dialects. This change of *o* > *a* is paralleled by the development seen in

¹⁶ Meek (1986: 58, §21d) interprets as ‘*faidhbrinn*’ in order to rhyme with ‘*cinn*’. This form is otherwise unattested. A rhyme between *fadhbrainn* and *cinn*, where non-palatal *dhbr* corresponds to palatal *c*, is paralleled by the rhymes *lann*: *Raoileann*; *amach*: *uaibhreach*; *feardha*: *bhfiorchalma* (Meek 1986: 56, §14cd; 60, §§25cd, 28cd).

odhb(h) ('knot'), where variants *adbb*, *fadb* occur (*eDIL* s.v. *odb*); cf. Modern Irish *fadhb* ('knot (in timber), lump, knotty problem') (*FGB* s.v.). The same lowering and unrounding may be inferred from unrounded monophthong reflexes of *foghlaime* ('learning'), *foghmhar* ('autumn') in Scottish Gaelic, which imply underlying *faghlaim* and *fagh(mh)ar* respectively; such variants are found in Classical Gaelic (Armstrong 1985: 340);¹⁷ cf. also (*fagh(bh)áil* ~ (*fogh(bh)áil*, (*fodhabhair* ~ *adhabhair* ('prank'), *fodhail* ~ *fadhail* ('divide, distribute'), *foghail* ~ *faghail* ('plunder') (Armstrong 1985: 274, 340, 373). Given the frequency of the development *o* > *a* following *f*-, it may be that the Scottish Gaelic and Manx forms derive from or were influenced by an intermediate variant with prothetic *f*; see §2.1.1.

Reflexes of *adhbrann* are the most commonly occurring etymonic variants in Scottish Gaelic. See Maps 1 and 2. Such reflexes are found in 121 of the 207 dialect points represented in *SGDS*, i.e. a total of 58%. In reality, this percentage should be higher if we include dialects within or near the boundary of the *adhbrann* area for which no return was recorded in *SGDS* but where *adhbrann* was most likely used or known (e.g. points 1, 62, 126, 167, etc.). Reflexes of *adhbrann* occur in a contiguous central area ranging from Mull, Mid-Argyll and East Perthshire in the south, northwards through west Inverness-shire along the western parts of Ross-shire as far north as north-west and northern Sutherland, and including Eigg, Canna, Skye, Raasay and all of the Outer Hebrides. Although there are many gaps in returns for the south-west of Scotland and in the east and north-east, there are no reflexes of *adhbrann* recorded in *SGDS* in the peripheral dialects of south-west Argyllshire, East Perthshire, east Inverness-shire, East Ross-shire or East Sutherland.

Adhbrann has 24 phonological subvariants (23 in Scottish Gaelic and 1 in Manx). These are presented in Table 4, with numbers in brackets referring to the number of instances noted mostly from *SGDS*. See also Map 2. The most widespread subvariants are *adhbrann* (30), *adhba(i)rt* (26), *adhbran* (15) and *adhrparrann* (13).

(f)adhb/pra-	<i>adhbrann</i> (30) ¹⁸ <i>adhbran</i> (15) ¹⁹ <i>adhbránn</i> (1) <i>adhbrainn</i> (1) <i>fadhbrann</i> (1) ²⁰ <i>adhrparrann</i> (1) <i>àbruid</i> (Clyne)
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¹⁷ For *foghlaime* in Scottish Gaelic, where reflexes of both *foghlaime* and *faghlaim* survive, see *SGDS* 437.

¹⁸ I have interpreted the Loch Rannoch form *ḟ:hr̥n̥* at pt 193 as *adhbrann*.

¹⁹ With one instance of short initial vowel.

²⁰ MacAlpine ([1832] 1955: 15) has *foabrunn* for *faobrann*, which I transcribe here as *fadhbrann*.

<i>adhbara-</i>	<i>adhbarann</i> (5) <i>adhbaránn</i> (1) <i>adhbaran</i> (5)
<i>adhba(i)r-</i>	<i>adhbarn</i> (5) ²¹ ²² <i>adhbairne</i> (5) ²³ <i>abane</i> < <i>*abarne</i> (Manx) (1) <i>adhbart</i> (22) ²⁴ <i>adhbairt</i> (4)
<i>adh(a)r(a)b/p-</i>	<i>adhrbann</i> (7) <i>adhrpann</i> (13) <i>adharpann</i> (2) ²⁵ <i>adhrpáinn</i> (1) <i>adhrban</i> (1) <i>adhrbrann</i> (Benbecula, <i>LASID</i>) <i>adhrpadan</i> (n) (1) <i>adhrabart</i> (Assynt, DASG-FA, 1969) ²⁶
<i>adhbhr-</i>	<i>adhbhrann</i> (= <i>aobhrann</i> , Calder [1923] and Mac-Eachainn [1842] 1922)

Table 4: The main phonological variants of *adhbrrann*

2.1.3 Vocalisation of *dh* / *gh*

The fricative *dh*, via *gh*, has been vocalised in all subvariants with resultant compensatory vowel lengthening in Scottish Gaelic, usually in the form of a long back low-mid unrounded vowel **ɹ**: (although the phonologically equivalent front rounded vowel /**ø**:/ occurs in some Argyllshire dialects, e.g. *SGDS*, pts 46-49, 58-61, 63, 64, etc.). This preconsonantal environment is the most conducive environment for the loss of *dh* / *gh* (Ó Maolalaigh 2006a: 45). For subsequent shortening, see section §2.1.7 below. Where there is a phonemic opposition between /**ɹ**:/ and /**ʊ**:/, the former is the normal reflex (Borgstrøm 1940: 37, §19.2; 141, §174.2; Borgstrøm 1941: 24, §20; Oftedal 1956: 334).

²¹ With one instance of short initial vowel.

²² Cf. *aobrann* [sic] **ɹ:bɹ'ɲ** (Sutherland) (*DASG-FA*).

²³ Cf. *aobarna* (= *aobairne* / *adhbairne*) **ɹ:bə'ɲə** (Kilmuir, Skye) (*DASG-FA*).

²⁴ I have opted for *adhbart* with final *-rt*. However, the phonetic forms could just as well be transcribed with final *-rd*. Robertson has ‘adhbaird, a(dh)bard ankle v aobart *āōbhard āōbard*’ (NLS MS 415a, p. 3) for Wester Ross. I am grateful to Dr Jake King for this reference.

²⁵ Cf. *aodharpann* (i.e. *adharpann*) **ɹərpəɲ** which occurs in Breakish, Isle of Skye (*DASG-FA*).

²⁶ *adhrabart* **ɹɹɪbəɪɟ** was recorded in September 1969 from an informant in Durness, Sutherland, who originated from Stoer, Assynt (*DASG-FA*).

2.1.4 Initial vowel

From the attested back vowel /ɣ:/ we can establish an intermediate stage involving the sequence *ɣʏ, with /a/ (< //o//) retracted before the fricative ʏ was lost, and with compensatory lengthening to ɣ:. Without the retraction of *a*, vocalisation of the dental / velar fricative would presumably have resulted in *a:brɔn (cf. Ó Maolalaigh 2006a: 57-62).

In the appendix to Dwelly's dictionary prepared by Clyne (1991: 1), the variant form *àbruid* occurs and is cited from 'MS', which Dwelly describes as follows:

MS—Large manuscript English-Gaelic Dict. in possession of Rev. D. Walker MacIntyre, Kilmonivaig. It was revised on Nov. 1, 1823, and purchased at the sale of Sir Wm. MacLeod Bannatyne's Library in 1834 by Donald Gregory, Edinburgh, who gave it to Angus MacDonnell, Inch. No compiler's or reviser's name is given. (*Dwelly* viii)

Although it was thought for many years that this manuscript was lost, it survives in the collections of the West Highland Museum in Fort William (Ó Maolalaigh 2014: 189-90, n. 25). Despite the large size of the unpublished manuscript dictionary the spine reads 'Pocket Gaelic Dictionary'; inside it bears the title 'The Anglo-Gaelic Dictionary'. Given the association with Sir William MacLeod Bannatyne (1743–1833), it is clear that the manuscript dictionary was compiled as part of the Highland Society of Scotland's drive to compile a major Gaelic dictionary even though the form *àbruid* did not make its way into the Society's published dictionary. On Bannatyne, see Black (1986: 6).

The *àbruid* variant seems to be a metathesised form of *àbairt* / *àbaird* (i.e. *adhbairt/d*), or, possibly, a development from *àbrainn* (i.e. *adhbrainn*); see section §2.1.12 below. An initial long *à* is implied although it is conceivable that it may represent a back low-mid unrounded vowel ɣ:. Similarly, *aubairt*, which occurs in Malcolm MacPherson's unpublished 1812 [Perthshire] 'Gaelic Vocabulary', also compiled with the Highland Society's dictionary project in mind,²⁷ is suggestive of a long *à* vowel; cf. the use of 'au' in this source to represent an *a*-vowel in: *ault* (*allt*), *bauntrach* (*banntnach*), *fault* (*falt*), *graunda* (*grànda*), *braundie* (*branndaidh*), etc. However, as in the case of *àbruid*, it is conceivable that *au* in *aubairt* may represent a back low-mid unrounded vowel ɣ:. If a long *à* is the correct reading for both forms, this can be explained in two ways: (1) the development of *à a:* may be grouped with the exceptional pronunciation of *Raghnall* with *a:* (Ó Maolalaigh 2006a: 62)—perhaps representing a high register form; (2) *à* may represent a lowering of long *ò o:* > *ɔ:* > *a:* / *a:* from a form retaining the original rounded *o-*

²⁷ This is clear from the fact that MacPherson sent his manuscript to Sir John MacGregor Murray, who in turn passed it on to Lewis Gordon, Deputy Secretary of the Highland Society of Scotland (Black unpublished: 73.2.6; id. 1986: 6-7).

vowel: *odhbrann*; cf. the variants of *famhair* ('giant') with ò and à (Ó Maolalaigh 2013: 193–95). There may be a connection with the form *arbard* / *earbard* ('a hard protruding swelling'), for which see n. 35 below.

Initial short *a* in Manx *abane hq̄be:n* (Broderick 1984–86, II: 2) represents a reflex in which a compensatorily lengthened vowel has been shortened in the pretonic position; see §2.1.7 below.

2.1.5 *r*-metathesis and *r*-loss

Metathesis of *r* accounts for a variety of variants. If *adhbrann* is assumed as the original underlying form in ScG dialects, rightward and leftward metathesis accounts for *adhba(i)r*- and *adhr*- forms respectively. Rightward movement of *r* occurs in *adhbarn* (if this is not in fact the original historical form; see §2.1) and with further syllable coda change to *adhba(i)rt* and *adhbairne*. The development *adhbrann* > *adhbarn* could have been due to influence from reflexes of *mudharn*. Rightward *r*-metathesis occurs in two separate areas: one consisting of a contiguous northwestern area, ranging from north-eastern Skye, Raasay, all of Wester Ross, West and North Sutherland; and the other consisting of western Perthshire and northern Argyll; see Map 2. The form *adhbarn* noted by Grannd (2013: 47) for Sutherland (Eddrachillis Parish) is in keeping with *SGDS* forms as is the Kinlochbervie (Sutherland) form **ɾ:br̥n̥** (transcribed as *adhbrann* in *DASG-FA*). However, the form *adhbarn*, noted by Wagner for Lochalsh, Wester Ross (*LASID* iv: 267, q. 461) contrasts with the *SGDS* form for Lochalsh, *adhbart* (*SGDS* 46, pt 103).

Leftward movement of *r* occurs in *adhrbann*, *adhrban*, *adhrpa(i)nn*, *adharpann*, *adhrpadan(n)*; cf. *adhrabart* (Assynt, *DASG-FA*, 1969). This occurs in a crescent just southwards of the northern rightward-movement-of-*r*-area, and includes North Uist, Benbecula, northern parts of South Uist, western and southern Skye and northwestern Inverness-shire (including parts of Lochaber); see Map 2. The contiguous area of rightward and leftward movement areas suggests that both developments may be connected; it is possible, for instance, that rightward movement of *r* in origin represents a form of hyperdialectism which seeks to restore a leftwardly moved *r*, overshooting the mark and resulting in the *r* being moved further to the right than its original post-consonantal position (or vice versa).

If, on the otherhand, *adhbarn* is assumed as the original underlying form in Scottish Gaelic, forms with *adhb/pr*- and *adhr(a)b/p* can be seen as two different manifestations of leftward metathesis of *r*, perhaps developing in two discrete steps: *adhbarn* > *adhb/pr*- (metathesis within the second syllable) > *adhr(a)b/p* (with further leftward metathesis into the first syllable). This interpretation would suggest that the red areas in Map 2 are the conservative areas and that the purple and green areas are the innovatory areas which have intruded on and made discontinuous an original 'red' area (representing *adhbarn* and its reflexes). The geographical distribution of *adhb/pr*- and *adhr(a)b/p*

(purple and green areas) and *adhbar-* (red area) represents a common central (purple and green) vs peripheral (red) dialectal pattern, with the central area forming a bell-shaped area with western mouth and eastern head; compare for instance the central progressive *ia* vs peripheral *è* pattern in Jackson's (1968: 68) well-known map illustrating the breaking of long *é* in Scottish Gaelic. It should be noted, however, that the central bell area can be either progressive (as in the case of *é*) or conservative (as in the preservation of postvocalic stressed *gh* (< *gh* or *dh*) (Ó Maolalaigh 2006a: 45, §3.2.1) and as such does not help us one way or the other in identifying *adhbrann* or *adhbarn* as the original or conservative form.

Two mixed forms occur in which *r* occurs immediately after *b* but is also duplicated to the left or right: *adhrbrann* (sg), *adhrbrainn* (pl.) (Benbecula, *LASID* iv: 233, q. 461) and *adhrabart* (Assynt, *DASG-FA*, 1969). I have not included here the Lower Bayble form *adhprann* **r:p^hrəŋ** /ɣ:pfərn/ (Lower Bayble, Lewis, *SGDS*, pt 7) as the final **-rN** represents a common development of original postvocalic *-nn* in this dialect; see section §2.1.6 below. Irrespective of what is regarded as the underlying historical form for ScG dialects, *adhbrann* or *adhbarn*, the forms *adhbarann*, *adhbaránn*, *adhbaran* can be seen to be mixed forms, reflecting both *adhbrann* and *adhbarn* reflexes. It is not a coincidence that these mixed forms occur in dialects that are geographically intermediate between *adhbrann*- and *adhbarn*- (*adhba(i)rt*-) areas in northern Argyllshire; see Map 2.

Loss of *r* occurs frequently in Manx in consonant clusters as in the form *abane* **həb̥e:n** (Broderick 1984–86, II: 2), which presumably developed via the form **abarne* (*adhbarn*) with vowel lengthening in the second syllable before *rn* (either as the original form or after *r* had metathesised to the position before *n*) and forward stress on the lengthened vowel.²⁸

2.1.6 *b > p*

The change *b > p* occurs in 18/183 (9.8%) returns. With the exception of *adhprann* (pt 7), all instances involve the cluster *rb > rp*. In the vast majority of cases the change *rb > rp* (16/17 (94%)) manifests itself as voiceless *r* (pts 21, 22, 23, 74, 76, 78, 96, 97, 98, 104–09, 172). At pt 168, we have **rhp**. At pt 7, where *pr* occurs, we have **p^hr**. The change is found in: *adhrparrann* (13 examples), *adhrparrinn* (1 example), *adharparrann* (2 examples), *adhrpadan(n)* (1 example), *adhprann* (1 example). The 17 instances of *rb > rp* compare with 9 attested forms in which **/rb/** has been retained without devoicing of the *r* or post-aspiration of **p**: *adhrbarrann* (7 examples), *adhrbarran* (1 example), *adhrbrann*

²⁸ On the frequent but by no means categorical loss of *r* in *r*-groups in Manx, see Broderick (1984–86, III: 115–117). The published *SGDS* materials suggest a form *adhbainne* for Staffin, Skye (pt 113). However, on checking Terence McCaughey's original fieldwork materials, I can confirm that the final syllable should read **-pə** in *SGDS* i.e. the form is *adhbairne* (not *adhbainne*) which is in keeping with other northwestern Skye dialects.

(1 example). In 15 of the 18 examples, the sequence /**r:rp**/ ([**r:rp**] or [**r:rhþ**]) occurs. It follows that the most conducive environment for the change *b* > *p* was an original sequence /**r:rb**/; I take the two examples at pts 97 and 98, involving [**r-ɹ**] to have developed from or to represent an underlying or original long vowel [**r:**], which suggests that all examples of the change *b* > *p* with the exception of *adhprann* (pt 7) occurred in the heavy sequence /**r:rb**/. The possible phonological significance of this development is discussed in section §2.1.14. Forms with *rp* occur in a fairly contiguous central area ranging from Lochaber, Invergarry and Glenmoriston in the West, through Knoydart and Glenelg to parts of the Isle of Skye, North Uist, Benbecula and northern South Uist (*SGDS* pts 21-23, 74, 76, 78, 96-98, 104-09, 168, 172); see the green area in Map 2. Forms with *rb* occur within or immediately adjacent to this broad area as expected (*SGDS* pts 17-20, 75, 77, 93, 171; *adhrbrann* (*DASG-FA*) occurs in Benbecula). The combined *rp*- and *rb*-areas represent the area in which leftward metathesis of *r* has occurred.

SGDS records **r:p^hrən** for Lower Bayble (pt 7). The final *-rn* [**ɲ**] is not an instance of *r*-movement but a common realisation of historical *nn* //n/ in this dialect; cf. final *nn* [**ɲ**] in *annlann*, *ceann* (*SGDS* 43, 163, 164 (pt 7))²⁹ and intervocalic *nn* [**ɲ**] in *ceannaich*, *ceannachd*, *chunnaic*, *teannaich* (*SGDS* 43, 168, 169, 838 (pt 7)).³⁰ The underlying form in this case has accordingly been taken as *adhprann* rather than *adhprarn*.

2.1.7 Vowel shortening

There is some slim evidence in *SGDS* for the shortening of the compensatorily lengthened stressed vowel in the first syllable. In four examples from *SGDS* the compensatorily lengthened vowel is attested and / or transcribed as a short vowel: (1) **uþraŋ** (Mull, pt 83), (2) **ɹbə-ɲ** (Durness, pt 133), (3) **örhpɹtɹn** (Glenmoriston, pt 168) and (4) **ɹþərɹst** (Brig o' Turk, pt 207). The first and second examples can be dismissed and taken as long vowels. The first example from Mull is marked as 'sic [u]' in *SGDS* 46; Eric Hamp's original field-work copy has '(short ʌ [= u] sic)' but contains a later note: 'no, it is long—her length / as in Loch Dow, too, & indeed all Mull, is not drawled; sometimes quite clipped.' We may compare the half-long vowels that occur in Mull in reflexes of *adhbrann* **ɹ·þraŋ** (pt 81), **ɹ·þran** (pt 82) and also in reflexes of original *ao* and *adhC* sequences: see, for instance, *aois* (*SGDS* 48, pts 81-83), *caol* (*SGDS* 147, pts 81, 83; the form recorded for pt 82 has a short vowel), *caomh* (*SGDS* 149, pts 81-83), *adhradh* (*SGDS* 47, pts 81-83). The second example, from Durness, Sutherland, is an error: the original transcript has the initial vowel marked as long. Having checked the original transcripts, I can confirm a short vowel for the third (pt 168) and fourth examples (pt 207). On

²⁹ But not in *ceann* (*SGDS* 165, pt 7).

³⁰ This does not occur in *clann*, *unnam*, *feannadh*, *rionnag*, etc. (*SGDS* 42, 196, 405, 712 (pt 7)).

the possible phonological relevance of vowel shortening, see §2.1.14 below. The form *adhrabart* **ɾɾb̥əɟ̊** (*DASG-FA*) was recorded from a Sutherland informant, which also seems to imply vowel shortening and vowel epenthesis; see §2.1.9. The common Assynt form is *adhbart* (pts 128–30). This form may derive from **adhrbart* ***ɾ:rb̥əɟ̊** with subsequent shortening to ***ɾrb̥əɟ̊**, and hence **ɾɾb̥əɟ̊** with epenthesis.

The Manx form *abane* **h̥q̊b̥e:n** (Broderick 1984–86, II: 2) has an initial short vowel which is regular in pretonic position in Manx for historically long or lengthened vowels:³¹ compare *arnane* (*áirneán*) **a'ne:n**, *buggane* (*bócán*) **b̥o'ge:n**, *faagail* (*fágáil*) **fe'ge:l'** (Broderick 1984–86, III: 148, §126.2).

2.1.8 Vowel splitting

Possibly related to vowel shortening is the splitting of the long monophthong vowel **ɾ:** into an apparent sequence of two short vowels in hiatus, i.e. **ɾ:** > **ɾ-ɾ**. This occurs in Knoydart *adharpan* **ɾ-ɾ̥p̥ɾn̊** (pt 97) and Glenelg *adharpan* **ɾ-ɾ̥p̥ɾn̊** (pt 98), with which we may possibly compare the Mull and Skye (Breakish) forms *adhabran*(*n*) (= *aobrann*) **ä'br̥ən** and **ɾəp̥əɟ̊** respectively (*DASG-FA*). It is possible that the Sutherland form *adhrabard* **ɾɾb̥əɟ̊**, recorded in September 1969 (*DASG-FA*) may have derived from **adhabard* **ɾ-ɾb̥əɟ̊** in which *r* has filled the hiatus; compare the many instances of **ɾrəp̥** < **ɾ-ərp̥** (*oidhirp*) (*SGDS* 671) and **ɾrəxk̊**, etc. (*adharc*) (*SGDS* 7).

It might be argued that *adharpan*(*n*) **ɾ-ɾ̥p̥ɾn̊**^(s) is the reflex of an underlying form with left-metathesised *r*, **aghrp/bann* with epenthesis developing in the cluster **ɾr**, yielding **ɾɾp̥** and later **ɾ-ɾ̥** following the vocalisation of *gh*.

2.1.9 Epenthesis

What appears to be an epenthetic vowel develops in the cluster *br* in the forms *adhbaran* (5), *adhbarann* (5) and *adhbaránn* (1). See Map 2. This development occurs in northern Argyllshire, ranging from Sunart and Ardnamurchan (pt 87), Morvern (pt 80), Easdale (pt 59), Lismore (pt 68), Appin (pt 70), South Lorne (pts 61, 63–65) and Mid-Argyll (pts 47, 48). As this fairly contiguous area lies between the southern boundary of the *adhbrann* area and the western boundary of the Perthshire *adhba(i)rt* area, the *adhbarann* and *adhbaran* forms may well represent mixed forms based on *adhbrann* and *adhba(i)rt* (or conceivably its precursor *adhbar**n*). The forms *adhbarann* and *adhbaránn* can certainly be seen to represent a synchronic compromise between two bordering zones. On these mixed forms, see §2.1.5.

³¹ I assume that the initial *h-* in the phonetic transcription derives from the genitive singular feminine article, **ny habane* or possibly the plural form with preceding plural definite article [*ny*] **h̥q̊b̥e:n̥n̥** (Broderick 1984–86, II: 2); note that Cregeen (1835: 2) gives the gender of *abane* as feminine.

The form *adhrabard* **ʔʔʔbəɹ̥d̪** was recorded from a Sutherland informant (*DASG-FA*), which might also be rendered as *adhrbart*, and which might imply vowel epenthesis following vowel shortening or vowel splitting followed by *r*-filling of hiatus as discussed in §2.1.7-8.

2.1.10 Palatalisation

The final consonant or consonant cluster becomes palatalised in *adhbairne* (5), *adhbairt* (4), *adhbairinn* (1), *adhrpinn* (1). *Adhbairne* is confined to North-east Skye and Raasay (pts 11-15); cf. *aobarna* (= *aobairne* / *adhbairne*) **ʔʔbəɹ̥n̪ə** (Kilmuir, Skye) (*DASG-FA*).³² See Map 2. *Adhbairt* is restricted to West Pethshire (pts 202-05). However, given the neutralisation between broad and slender *rt* clusters in West Ross-shire and Assynt dialects, it is possible that *adhbart* derives from the palatalised form *adhbairt* in some of these dialects; we may compare the realisation of *ìobairt* as **-əɹ̥t̪** (*SGDS* 522, pts 118-30) but note the contrast between *adhbart* **ʔʔb̪əɹ̥st̪** with *ìobairt* **ì:b̪əɹ̥st̪** at pt 117 (*SGDS* 46, 522, pt 117). *Adhbairinn* occurs in Cowall (pt 46) and *adhrpinn* in Lochaber (pt 76).

As *adhbairne* is masculine in Scottish Gaelic, the palatalised form presumably represents a genitive singular form, perhaps deriving ultimately from an expression such as *cnà(i)mh an adhbairne* ('the ankle bone'). The contiguous geographical distribution of *adhbairne* (north-eastern Skye), *adhbart* (west coast of Ross-shire and Assynt), which perhaps most likely derives from *adhbarn* (see §2.1.12 below), and *adhbarn* (northern Sutherland) suggests that *adhbairne* is a development of *adhbarn*. It may indicate contamination with *mughairne*, albeit now confined to southern Argyllshire. Alternative derivations include: (a) a phonological development *-irn* > *-irne*, perhaps a hyper-correction based on the frequent loss of final **-ə** in the third syllable following //N'/ in Gaelic (e.g. *Bealltainn* < *Bealtaine*, *fìrinn* < *fìrinne*)³³ or through the addition of **-ə** to the heavy cluster *-rn* (cf. *dòrn* > *dòrna* / *dòirne*, *SGDS* 339); (b) a feminine genitive singular **adhbairne* (cf. *abane* which is feminine in Manx, and which accounts for the initial *h* in Manx phonetic forms, which presumably derives from a genitive singular feminine form with the article); (c) a singulative formation, for which see T.F. O'Rahilly (1929: 66-69).

³² This form also survives in the Irish of Baile Bhúirne in a variety of phrases denoting a large globular shape, e.g. *adhbairne cloiche* ('a large, more or less globular stone, weighing from two or three pounds to two or three hundredweight'); *adhbairne práta* ('a very large potato'); *bhíodar* [i.e. *prátaí*] *ina n-adhbairnibh* ('i.e. *garbh*, *comh-chruinn*'). Ó Cuív (1947: 3) also notes the variant form *fadhairne*, which is reminiscent of the Scottish Gaelic form *fadhbrann* (see §2.1.1).

³³ Cf. *deimhinne* (*SGDS* 306, pts 10-16, 20-21, 24, 27, 90, 95-96, 99, 104-05, 107-10, 112-15, 120, 122); (*sa*) *bhràthainne* (*SGDS* 119, pt 13), *Callainne* (*SGDS* 143, pt 36), *inntinne* (Borgsrøm 1940: 161, §220.2), *Lunnainne* (Jones 2010: 327), etc.

2.1.11 *-ann* > *-an*

I have transcribed a clear vowel (**a**, **ǣ**, **ä**) + **[n]** (including alveo-dental, i.e. **[n]** with half wedge, pt 64) as *-an*, and a clear vowel (**a**, **ɑ**) + **[n̥]** as *-ánn*. In words whose final syllable ends in vowel + nasal, original *-ann* often becomes *-an* with clear *a* + *n*, i.e. *-an̥/* as if it were a diminutive. The development may represent the replacement of *-ann* with the diminutive ending *-an*, or, alternatively, may in origin have come about through the lowering of /ə/ to **[a]** in a sonorant environment (Ó Maolalaigh 2006b: 242; id. 2008: 165-166). We may compare the development seen in *leaghamann* > *leaghman* ('moth') (Ó Maolalaigh 2007: 237). Forms with clear vowel + velarised *n* (e.g. *adhbránn* -**an̥** (pt 2), *adhbaránn* -**an̥** (pt 87)), if they do not represent *-an̥/*, may provide good evidence for the lowering of /ə/ to **[a]** or for mixed forms based on *-an̥/* and *-ə̃n̥/*.

What can be termed diminutive *-an* occurs in a fairly contiguous area in North and Mid-Argyll and Arisaig, consisting of Kilmartin (pt 49), Craignish (pt 58), South Lorn (pt 60), Benderloch (pts 66, 67), Appin (pts 71, 72), Sunart and Ardnamurchan (pt 79), Morvern (pt 86), Mull (pts 81-83), Tiree (pt 84), Coll (pt 85), Airisaig (pt 91). We may compare: *adhbaran* in West Loch Fyne (pt 48), Easdale (pt 59), South Lorn (pts 64, 65), Morvern (pt 80); *adhrban* in Lochaber (pt 77); *adhbaránn* in Sunart and Ardnamurchan (pt 87). Wagner notes *adhbran* as an alternative to *caol do chas* ('your ankle') for Mid-Argyll, although *mo adhb(a)ran mē ʔ:ħʔr̥q̥n* (glossed by Wagner as 'my ...') with weak vowel epenthesis also occurs as the response for 'shinbone', which may be a genuine metonymical development (*LASID* IV: 221, qq. 458, 461; cf. *adhbran*, vocabulary, p. 226 s.v. *aobrann*). Mac Gill-Fhinnein (1973: 256, s.v. *aobrann*) reports *adhbran* **ə:bran** for Cape Breton.

2.1.12 Stop in place of nasal: *-rn* > *-rt*

Final *-rt* forms are found in: *adhbart* (22), *adhbairt* (4) and *adhrabart* (Assynt, *DASG-FA*). This development may also be reflected in the forms *adhrpat(an(n))* and *àbraid* (Clyne 1991: 1, s.v. *àbruid*), both of which may have developed as a result of *r*-metathesis, i.e. via **adhbart(an(n))* and *adhbaird* / *adhbairt* respectively. Forms with final *-rt* can be derived in three ways: (1) from *adhba(i)rn*, i.e. *adhba(i)rn* > *adhba(i)rd/t*. This is supported by the contrasting forms noted by Wagner (*adhbarn*) and *SGDS* (*adhbart*) for Lochalsh and the North Sutherland form *adhbarn*; the variant *ùspairt* for *ùspairn* ('contention, strife, struggle') may provide a further example (*Dwelly* s.vv.);³⁴ (2) from *adhbra(i)d* with metathesis, i.e. *adhbra(i)d* > *adhba(i)rd/t*;

³⁴ Contamination, however, between *àbraid* ('dispute, confusion') and *ùspairn* ('contention, strife, struggle') (*Dwelly* s.vv.) seems to be evidenced in the Skye and Ross-shire forms, *ùspairt* and *ùspraid* respectively (Robertson 1904: 346).

cf. Perthshire *ùbairt* ('moving heavy articles') from *ùbraid* / *ùpraid* (Robertson 1900: 40);³⁵ or (3) possibly with suffix or ending substitution.

The development *adhba(i)rn* > *adhba(i)rd/t* can be explained as a case of denasalisation in final position: *rn* > *rd* / *rt* (or possibly *-a(i)nn* > *-a(i)d/t*).³⁶ Denasalisation of *n* in *rn* clusters is very rare in Scottish Gaelic and may have first developed as a result of devoicing in final position (*ŋ* > *ɲ* / *t*), due perhaps to the incompatibility of nasalisation with voicelessness. The Sutherland and Inverness-shire form *searmaid* **ʃeramed'** (DASG-FA; cf. Grannd 2013: 263; *Dwelly* s.v.) for *searmo(i)n* ('sermon'), if it does not involve an instance of suffix substitution, may be a further instance of denasalisation in final position; cf. *siobaid* and *siobann* ('the plant called *sybow*') (Armstrong 1825: 491). The opposite development, perhaps a hypercorrection, and if so further supportive evidence for the denasalisation of *ŋ* / *ɲ* to *d'* / *t'* in final position, is evidenced by *sàbainn* < *sàbaid* ('Sunday'), which in Lewis is realised variously as *[-ɔɲd']* (SGDS 327, pt 2), *[-ɔɲ]* (SGDS 327, pt 2); cf. *[-ɔɲt']* (Ofstedal 1956: 145; cf. *Dwelly* s.vv. *sàboinn*, *Sàboinnnd*). The form *sgordan* ('gullet?') from *sgòrnan*, which occurs in two separate questionnaires from Ballygrant, Islay (DASG-FA), may be a case of dissimilation between nasals; cf. Irish *cardan* < *carnán* (FGB s.v.). Denasalisation may have been a feature of the earlier language if the forms *dord* for *dorn* ('fist') and *card* for *carn* ('heap, pile, cairn') are not scribal errors for *carnd* and *dornd* respectively; see *eDIL* (s.vv. *dorn*, *carn*).

Adhba(i)rt is found in two discontinuous areas, throughout West Ross-shire and Assynt and also in West Perthshire; cf. Robertson (1904: 353), Borgstrøm (1941: 77, §13.2), Ternes ([1973] 2006: 77), *LASID* IV (276, q. 461, Assynt; 280, vocabulary, s.v. *aobart*);³⁷ cf. *aobard* (i.e. *adhbard*) **ɾ:bəɹd** (Còigeach) (DASG-FA). See Map 2. If the forms *adhrpat(an(n))* (North West Inverness-shire, SGDS pt 168) and *àbraid* (Bannatyne MS) derive from *adhba(i)rt*, as they seem most likely to, it may be that *adhba(i)rt* was once slightly more widespread than the modern distribution leads us to believe, and that the two currently discontinuous dialect areas may have been at an earlier stage contiguous. The earliest example I have noted of a form with stop instead of *n* is

³⁵ D. MacDonald (1946: 7) notes '*arbard* or *earbard*' with the meaning 'a hard protruding swelling signifying the beginning of an abscess, a boil before the inflammation reaches the acute stage, the root of a carbuncle'. The form *arbard* **arabəɹd** was recorded in Lewis in 1971 with the meaning 'septic swelling under the foot' (DASG-FA). It is not clear what relation, if any, (*e*)*arbard* has with *adhbrann*. Perhaps it represents a similar formation with the same second element as *adhbrann* but with a different prefix, perhaps **air(-uss-?)*-, and perhaps also the result of metathesis and denasalisation: **arbrann* > **arborn* > *arbard*. Alternatively, it could derive from **àrbard* with vowel shortening and subsequent development of epenthetic vowel, deriving from **àbard*, a lexico-phonological split from *adhbard/t*, with lowering of *ɾ*: to *a*; cf. *adhrabard* **ɾɾsbəɹd** (Assynt; DASG-FA).

³⁶ Word-final denasalisation ('di-shrònachadh') is also the explanation put forward by Wentworth (2003, t: 298, §4.9.7.1) for Wester Ross *adhbart*.

³⁷ Ó Baoill, in his useful *Scottish Gaelic in Wagner's Survey of Irish Dialects* (2012: 276), transcribes the latter example as *adhbrad*; the form, however, is **ə:bəɹt**, i.e. *adhbart* or *adhbard*.

aubairt with the meaning ‘coot’ (i.e. Scots *cuit* ‘ankle, fetlock’ (Robinson [1985] 1987: 127)) from Malcolm MacPherson’s unpublished 1812 ‘English-Gaelic Vocabulary’, where ‘*Aubairt. tha cracainn bhar t’aubairt*’ corresponds to ‘Coot. the skin is of [*sic*] your coot [i.e. ankle]’ (MacPherson 1812: §10, parts of the body).

2.1.13 $b > b[h] > b$; $b > bh$ [?]: *adhbhrann*

The spelling of *odbronn*, *adbronn*, *odbronnach*, etc. with *-db-* in the earlier literature (*eDIL* s.vv. *odbronn*, *odbronnach*) is ambiguous with the respect to the nature of the labial element: *b* could conceivably represent either a stop **b** or a fricative **β**.³⁸ A derivation involving *odb* **oðβ** (‘knot, lump’) or a first element ending in **-ð** would imply an underlying fricative **β** unless it were delented by a following element (e.g. an initial lenited *b-* in composition). If the derivation suggested above **ozbo-sperno/ā* (i.e. *odb* ‘knot, lump’ + *sperno/ā* ‘heel’) is correct (see §2.1), the cluster **ðβ** would be expected. All modern dialectal reflexes (but see *aobhrann* directly below) have *-b-*, which can nevertheless be satisfactorily derived from an underlying **β**. The development **ðβ** > **ðb** conforms to the common (but by no means categorical) defricativisation of fricatives in continuous clusters, which is also evidenced in reflexes of *odb* (‘knot, lump’). Note, for instance, the spelling *adbb* in *LU* (1143) (*eDIL* s.v. *odb*), which suggests final *-b*, and the common Modern Irish pronunciation with final *-b* in *fa(i)dhb* < *fadhbh* < (*f*)*odb* (de Bhaldraithe [1945] 1975: 100, §539; Ó Curnáin 2007, IV: 2478; Ó Cuív [1944] 1980: 28, §95).³⁹

The form *aobhrann*, with *bh*, which I transcribe here as *adhbhrann*, is cited by both Mac-Eachainn ([1842] 1922: 17) and Calder ([1923]: 191, §136; 329). No such variant is found in the modern dialectological record, and it is most likely a typographical error in both sources, perhaps influenced by *aobhar* and *aobharrach* in preceding entries in the case of Mac-Eachainn. Calder’s spelling may be etymological and possibly influenced by the Brittonic and Greek cognates with labial fricatives. Calder reproduces the form *aobhrann* in the index and the form is not included in his ‘Additions and Corrections’ ([1923]: 329, 351-52). It is possible, though highly unlikely, that *-bh-* is genuine. If so, it may represent a conservative reflex of an underlying *odhbh-* form, or, alternatively, a later assimilative development of the sequence *adhbr-*.

³⁸ There are no instances of reflexes of *odbrann* (or *mudorn* for that matter) in Damian McManus’s unpublished database of Classical Gaelic poems which would enable us to check the value of the labial in rhyming pairs. I am grateful to Professor McManus for sharing with me a copy of his database.

³⁹ Cf. *badhb* < *badhbh* (Ó Cuív [1944] 1980: 113, §357; Lysaght [1985] 1996: 28, 37-39). On this phenomenon more generally, see Ó Maolalaigh (2016a: 102, n. 52).

2.1.14 Syllabic restructuring

It is possible that vowel shortening (§2.1.7), vowel splitting (§2.1.8), *r*-metathesis (§2.1.5), the development *rb* > *rp* (§2.1.6) and vowel epenthesis (§2.1.9) may represent different outcomes of a common phonological tendency to avoid overly long phonological strings of segments. In particular, the vocalisation of *gh* (< *dh*) led to the long sequences **r:br** and (via metathesis) **r:rb**. We can compare the developments described by T.F. O’Rahilly in his articles on ‘*Iarann, lárag*, etc.’ (1942a) and ‘Some Instances of Vowel Shortening in Modern Irish’ (1942b: 128-32).

2.2 *alt*

The word *alt* is the common term for ‘ankle’ in Munster dialects, occurring as *alt*, *alt na coise*, *alt mo choise*, etc. (*LASID* II q. 461). De Bhaldraithe (1959: 24) notes *alt murnáin* for ‘ankle-joint’. *Alt* derives from Old Gaelic *alt*, meaning ‘joint, articulation (in human beings and animals)’ (*eDIL* s.v. ¹*alt*). I have noted one instance of *alt*, with the meaning ‘horse’s ankle’ in Scottish Gaelic; this comes from West Kilbride, South Uist, recorded in 1987–88 (*DASG-FA*).

2.3 *buinnean*

Buinnean is recorded as the word for ‘ankle’ in two north-eastern dialects in Scotland: Easter Ross (pt 161) and Moray (pt 177), with the latter form queried in *SGDS*.⁴⁰ *Buinnean* may represent a derivative with a metaphorical use of *buinne* (‘shoot, young twig’); see §2.4. Alternatively, perhaps *buinnean* represents a borrowing of English ‘bunion’ as a metaphorical term for ‘ankle’, possibly supported by the existence of phonologically similar *uinnean* (‘ankle’), which occurs in dialects near points 161 and 177. See Map 3.

2.4 *buin(n)teog* [?]

The plural form *buin(n)teogaí* **bɔ̃nˠtˠɔ̃gi** occurs as an alternative to plural *múirní* **mu:rn̪i** in Fanad, Donegal (*LASID* IV 45, pt 69, vocabulary, s.v. *múrna*), where both forms are glossed as ‘protruding bones in foot or arm’. It is not clear whether *múrna* / *múirní* and *buin(n)teogaí* refer specifically to ‘ankle-bone’ or ‘wrist-bone’. Nor is it clear what the underlying form is here: *buinteog* or *buinnteg*, i.e. a derivation from *bun* or *buinne*. In favour of *bun*, we may note that it occurs with the meaning ‘stock, stump’ (*FGB* s.v.); cf. also *buinín* (s.v.); *bun* and *múrnán* are collocated in the Teileann (Donegal) expression ‘*Mo bhun is mo mhurnáin ort*’ (‘I’ll stamp you underfoot (?)’) (Uí Bheirn 1989: 38). In favour of *buinne*, we may note *buinne* in the sense of ‘shoot (of plant)’ and *buinneog* (‘small shoot, sprout’) (*FGB* s.vv. *buinne*¹, *buinneog*) and *buinne sliasta* (‘ridge of thigh-bone’) (*FGB* s.v. *buinne*²).

⁴⁰ *Buinnean* is not listed under ‘other words’ in *SGDS* 46.

A metonymical connection with *bonn* ('sole of foot') is also a possibility, in which case the form might be rendered in Modern Irish as *boinnteg*. Compare also Scottish Gaelic *buinnean* (§2.3).

2.5 *caol na coise*

The expression *caol na coise* is paralleled by *caol an dùirn* ('wrist') and *caol an droma* ('the small of the back'), each representing the three 'small' slender parts of the body to which *ceangal nan trì chaoil* could be applied (Watson [1915] 1929: 210). *Caol na coise* and variants are found in Arran, Colonsay, Mid-Argyll and Lewis: *caol mo chois* (Arran) (*LASID* IV 205, q. 461); *caol do choise* (Carloway, Lewis) (*LASID* IV 252, q. 461; also *cnàimh bheag*); *caol na coise* (Colonsay) (*SGDS* 46, pt 57), *caol do chas* (Mid-Argyll) (*LASID* IV 221, q. 461; also *adhbran*). The form *an caol-coise* with the meaning 'slender part between calf and ankle' was recorded from an informant from Port Charlotte, Islay, in 1968 (*DASG-FA*); cf. *Stòr-Dàta* (25, s.v. *ankle*). We may compare the Irish forms: *caol an droma* ('small of the back'), *caol na láimhe* ('small of the hand, wrist'), *caol na coise* ('small of the foot, ankle') and also *caol na sróine* ('bridge of the nose') (*FGB* s.v. *caol*).

2.6 *cnàimh-beag*

The form *an cnàimh-beag* (masculine) meaning 'ankle-bone' was recorded from an informant from Ùig an Iar, Lewis, in 1967 (*DASG-FA*). We may compare the form *cnàimh bheag* (feminine) recorded by Wagner for Carloway, Lewis (*LASID* IV 252, q. 461).

2.7 *cuilean*

Dwelly noted from William Cameron of Poolewe, Wester Ross, the form *cuilean* with the meaning 'small bone in ankle or wrist', and also cites the plural form *cuileanan na coise* ('the small bones in the ankle') (*Dwelly* s.v.). *Cuileanan* ('ankle bones') also occurs from a Lewis source in *DASG-FA*, quite possibly from Professor Derick Thomson. The usage is paralleled by Fr Allan McDonald's recording of *cuilean an dùirn* ('a little projecting knob on the back of the wrist') and *cuilein an dùirn* ('projecting joint on the back of the wrist') (Campbell [1958] 1991: 90).⁴¹

Such usages may perhaps represent a metaphorical use of *cuilean* ('pup') in reference to a small protruding bone. It may, however, be a metaphorical extensions of *cuilean* ('spoke of the driving wheel [of a spinning wheel]'), which Dwelly notes for Skye (Clyne 1991: 63); cf. *cuilean* ('staple in a

⁴¹ I take the Skye plural form *cuileanan* ('the space left at the toes of boots or shoes to allow for growth') (Barron 1977: 152) to be a variant of *cuinnean* ('nostril') and not to be related to *cuilean* ('ankle bone'); see *Dwelly* s.v. *cuilean*.

wooden lock’) (*Dwelly* s.v.).⁴² Grannd (2013: 286) also notes *cuilean* (plural *cuilean’n*) with the meaning ‘spoke (of wheel)’ for Sutherland. Spinning wheel spokes often have round protuberances in their design not unlike the shape of ankle bones.

Perhaps this use of *cuilean* derives metonymically from *cuileann* (‘holly’), which was used to make chariot wheels and shafts although surviving references do not specify its use in the making of spokes:⁴³

Tinne dono, is o chrand rohainmniged .i. cuileann [trian roith tindi] .i. ar is cuileand in tres fìdh roith in carbait. (‘Tinne, again, is named from a tree, i.e. holly, a third of a wheel is holly, that is, because holly is one of the three timbers of the chariot-wheel.’) (Calder 1917: 90-92)

The eighth-century legal text, ‘Bretha Comaithchesa’, explains the inclusion of *cuilenn* (‘holly’) among the *airig fedo* (‘nobles of the wood’) as being due to its use in making *feirtsi carpait* (‘chariot shafts’) (Atkinson et al. 1879: 150-51; Kelly 1976: 109; CIH 582.14); cf. *na fertse cuilinn* from the Yellow Book of Lecan version of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (Strachan and O’Keefe [1912] 1967: 30.784; Kelly 1976: 110). For a semantic connection between the spokes of a spinning wheel and human bones, we can compare plural *aisnean*, *aisnichean* (‘ribs or spokes of large wheel [of a spinning wheel]’) (*Dwelly* s.v.). We may also compare *feàrsaid* (‘spindle; axle of a cycle; dart; spear-shaft’)—the underlying word in *feirtsi carpait* above—and *feàrsaid na làimhe* (‘one of the bones of the fore-arm, the ulna’ (*Dwelly* s.v.).⁴⁴

2.8 *luidhean*

In *SGDS*, *luidhean* **lui-an** for ‘ankle’ occurs exclusively in northern and north-eastern Inverness-shire and Morayshire. Edward Lhuyd recorded this form as *lwien* from his Inverness-shire informant, which Campbell and Thomson (1963: 144, §XII.87; 270, 275) transcribe in modern Scottish Gaelic orthography as *luibhein*. Dieckhoff (1932: 115) also notes *luighein* **L(ui):jen’** (‘ankle’), *luigheinean* (pl.) in his pronouncing dictionary based on Glengarry Gaelic (Inverness-shire). Alexander MacBain ([1896] 1882: s.v.), a native of Badenoch, also has the form *luighein* (‘ankle’) in his etymological dictionary. This word is also found in Scottish Gaelic with the meaning ‘cloven foot’, ‘hoof’, ‘fetlock’ and ‘coronet’. Fr Allan MacDonald notes *luighein* for South Uist with the meaning ‘a cloven foot [as of a cow] as distinct from *bròg*, a foot

⁴² This is taken from the Highland Society of Scotland’s 1828 dictionary, where it is glossed as ‘A staple in a wooden lock: interni pessuli seræ ligneæ. *Llh.*’ (1828: 310).

⁴³ On the development of *-ann ən* to *-an an*, see §2.1.11.

⁴⁴ I have considered a derivation from a diminutive **caoilean* / *caoilein* (< *caol* ‘slender part’) with the first vowel shortened and reduced in unstressed phrasal position in the likes of **caoilean* / *caoilein na coise* / *an dùirn*, with **kwl’an* / *-en’* reinterpreted as *cuilean* / *cuilein*. However, I can find no convincing evidence for **caoilean* / *caoilein*.

not cloven [as of a horse]’ and John Lorne Campbell adds ‘Canna also’ ([1958] 1991: 169). Alexander Carmichael notes the plural form *luighein* with the meaning ‘hooves’ in the following:

The deer was considered specially wholesome—*dà mhiarach dhiag làn suill agus saill agus smior bho bharr a chabair gu sàil a luighein*, the twelve-branched full of fat and of suet and of marrow from the tips of his horns to the heels of his **hooves**.⁴⁵ [emphasis added] (*CG* VI 53).

The Fieldwork Archive of the Historical Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic has the following forms: *luighean* (‘hoof of calf’) (Skye); *luighean* **luìēn** (‘fetlock’) (North Uist); *luidhean* (‘fetlock’) (Skye [?]); *luidhainnean* (pl.) [= *luidheinean*] (‘fetlocks’) (South Uist) (*DASG-FA*). Dwelly has *luidhean* (‘fetlock’), *luighean-deiridh* (‘fetlock’, s.v. *each*) and also *luighean-toisich* (‘coronet of a horse’) (Clyne 1991: 91); the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *coronet* as: ‘the lowest part of the pastern of a horse, immediately above the coffin; also the bone of this part, the coronary [. . .] bone’.⁴⁵

MacBain ([1896] 1982: 236) suggests a connection with ‘E[arly] Ir[ish] *lua*, foot, kick, O[ld] Ir[ish] *lue* heel’, which, as a metonymical development, is semantically sound. The earlier language has two semantically and phonologically related forms which are differentiated in terms of stem and gender, namely: feminine *iā*-stem *luí* (‘tail of an animal, steering-oar, rudder’) (*eDIL* s.v.) and *io*-stem *lúa* (‘heel, foot; hoof; kick’) (*eDIL* s.v.; Hamp 1997). If ScG *luidhean* is a diminutive form based on *lúa* (‘heel, foot; hoof’), it must be based on a hiatus form *luë*; otherwise **luaidhean* might be the expected reflex. A diminutive in *-ín* would work well with the following suggested development: *luë* + *-ín* > **lu[†]-ín* (with [†] indicating syncope) **LU-i:n’** > **LUi-i(:)n’** > **LUi-m’** > **LUi-en’** > **LUi-an**. However, the lowering of the high front vowel in *-ín* is not certain for Scottish Gaelic, and a case can be made for *-éin* as the underlying diminutive with front vowel in Scottish Gaelic (Ó Maolalaigh 2001). An original form **lu-éin* could conceivably also yield **LUi-an** (spelt as *luidhean*) as follows: **LU-e:n’** > **LUⁱ-e(:)n’** > **LUi-en’** > **LUi-an**. MacAlpine’s *lugh* (masc.) (‘a joint’), transcribed phonetically as *lŭ* [= **LU**], may be related; cf. MacBain ([1896] 1982: 235). MacAlpine cites *lugh* in two genitive examples: *as cionn an luigh* (‘above the joint’), *sgion-luigh* (‘clasp-knife’) (MacAlpine [1832] 1955: 166, s.v. *lugh*). Although MacAlpine provides no phonetic transcription, presumably **LUi** (or perhaps **LUi**) is intended. These forms may derive from from a hiatus form **LU-i**, the genitive singular of *luë* (‘heel, foot; hoof; kick’), in which case MacAlpine’s *lugh* may be a presumed or reconstructed nominative singular.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Cf. *Stòr-Dàta* (25, s.v. *ankle*).

⁴⁶ Note that *luighean* (‘a nave, a centre’) (Armstrong 1825: 367) is not related to *luighean* / *luidhean* (‘fetlock, etc.’). It seems to be a reflex of earlier *laedan* (‘pith, marrow’) (*eDIL* s.v.

2.9 *luinnean*

Luinnean occurs in Badenoch (*SGDS* pts 185-87); cf. *luinnean* **l̥u̯n'an** recorded from an informant from Nethy Bridge, Speyside (*DASG-FA*), where it is noted that *innean* [= *uinnean*] 'occurs in some places' (see §2.19 below). With this form we may compare the form *luidhean* **l̥ui-an** recorded in the Linguistic Survey from the Nethy Bridge informant (*SGDS* 46, pt 182). The forms *luidhean* and *luinnean* are clearly closely related. *Luinnean* most likely represents a mixed form based on *luidhean* and *uinnean*; dialectologically this makes good sense as *luinnean* occurs in dialects bordering on the *luidhean* and *uinnean* areas;⁴⁷ see Map 3. The nasalised form *luidhean* **l̥u̯ran** (*SGDS* 46: pt 184) within the same general area seems to be a phonologically mixed form based on both *luidhean* and *luinnean* and / or *uinnean*.

2.10 *luirg, luirgeann* [?]

The form **l̥ureg'an** is reported for East Sutherland (*SGDS* pts 146, 148). This is interpreted by the editors of *SGDS* as an apparently singular form, *lurgann* (*SGDS* 46, p. 93 s.v. 'Other words'). The *g* is palatal in both cases, however, which suggests that the form is *luirgean* or *luirgeann*. The latter could be a variant of the singular form *lurgann* ('shaft, shin, leg, etc.') (*Dwelly* s.v.), deriving from an oblique form of the original *n*-stem noun *lurga* ('shin-bone, shank') (*eDIL* s.v.). The semantic shift from 'shin-bone' to 'ankle' would represent an instance of metonymy.⁴⁸ Alternatively, the East Sutherland forms could represent plural formations of a singular noun *luirg* ('staff, stalk'). In support of this interpretation, we may cite the singular form *luirg* **lurig** [*sic g*] ('ankle') with plural form *luirgean* **lurigin'** [*sic g*], **lurig'an** from an unpublished lexicon of East Ross-shire Gaelic, currently being prepared for publication by Professor Seosamh Watson. I take this form to derive from the dative / accusative singular of feminine *lorg* ('staff, stick, rod, cudgel') (*eDIL* s.v. 2 *lorg*). A cudgel or stick with a round lump as its head would be an entirely fitting metaphorical name for an ankle or wrist bone.

2.11 *mudharn*

The etymology, and consequently the underlying form of the word that is variously spelt as *mud(h)orn*, *mug(h)d(h)orn*, *mug[h]arnd*, etc. ('bone of the ankle or wrist; ankle, wrist') is unclear, as is its relation, if any, to the sept name

laegan). For discussion of the Irish forms *laeghan*, *laodhan*, *luíghéan* and the Scottish Gaelic forms *laodhan*, *glaothan*, see T.F. O'Rahilly ([1946] 1984: 338).

⁴⁷ We can compare the mixed form *clòì(mh)neag* ('snowflake') based on *lòineag* ('snowflake') and *clòimh* ('wool, down (feathers)') and other words with initial *cl-* (Ó Maolalaigh 2010: 14).

⁴⁸ The meaning 'shin' survives in Scottish Gaelic in forms such as *lorg*, *luirg*, *lurgann*, e.g. *luirg* in Portskerra and Embo (Sutherland) and South Lochboisdale (South Uist) (*DASG-FA* s.v.; cf. *Dwelly* s.vv. *lorg*, *luirg*, *lurgann*; cf. *DASG-FA* s.v. *lurgann*).

Mughdhorna (Ó Mainnín 1993: 119-25) or the river name *Modorn* (T.F. O’Rahilly [1946] 1984: 3, 453). The *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (*eDIL*) gives the headword as *mudorn*. Vendryes takes *mug-dorn* as the underlying form with variant *mudorn* (*LÉIA* s.v. *mug*), and derives it from *dorn* (‘hand, fist’) with prefixed *mug-* having augmentative force. It is possible, however, that *mudorn* is the original form which has been later re-analysed as containing *mug* (or *mog*; see below) or remodified through influence from the name *Mughdhorna*. The Old Gaelic law text ‘Di Astud Chirt ⁊ Dligid’ has the form ‘mudornnaib’ (‘name of a measure [?]’) with *-d-* (*CIH* 230.26; *eDIL* s.v. *mudorn*); if this is related to *mudorn* (‘ankle’) and if it reflects the original spelling, it could provide some evidence for *mudorn* being the original form; however, the gloss ‘o dornaib mogda’ (*CIH* 230.29) may perhaps point to an original form **mugdornnaib*. O’Davoren’s Glossary cites this law fragment, where it is spelt as ‘moghdornaibh’ (O’Dav. 419, §1260). I follow *eDIL* here and for present purposes take *mudorn* as the underlying form, hence the modern spelling *mudharn* adopted here for the underlying historical form although I have retained the common Scottish Gaelic spelling *mugha(i)rn(e)* in reference to ScG forms. If *dorn* is an original underlying element, perhaps the word related initially to the ‘wrist’ but was later transferred to mean ‘ankle’; cf. the discussion of Manx *mwinnal* (y) *c(h)ass* in section §2.13 below. In the fifteenth-century translation of the early fourteenth-century medical text, *Rosa Anglica*, *mudorn* is certainly used to refer to the ‘wrist’: *teinnes a naltuibh na lamh, ⁊ teinnes ona meruibh andsa mudornuib* (‘pain in the joints of the hands from the fingers to the wrists’) (Wulff 1929: 322, §7).

Perhaps the original form was **mugorn* / **mogorn* which was later influenced by *dorn*, thus leading to forms such as *mugdorn* and *mudorn*. I would tentatively suggest that the hypothetical form **mugorn* / **mogorn* might be derived from *mag* (‘great’) + *orn* (‘staff, stick, rod, cudgel [?]’). The translation of *orn* here is based on O’Davoren’s Glossary which equates *orn* with *lorg* (O’Dav. 484-85, §1615; *eDIL* s.vv. 2 *orn*; 2 *lorg*). When used with nouns, the prefix *mag-* ‘occurs occasionally with intensive or amplificative force’ (*eDIL* s.v. *mag-*). O’Davoren’s Glossary has what may be a variant, *mogh*, which is equated with *mór* (‘great, big’) and associated with the form *mogh-dorn* (O’Dav. 419, §1260; *eDIL* s.v. ? *mog*); cf. also *mogda* (‘big, great, immense [?]’) (*eDIL* s.v.). As a parallel for **mugorn* / **mogorn*, reference may be made to *maglorg* (‘club, cudgel’) (*eDIL* s.v.). A cudgel or stick with a round lump as its head would be an entirely fitting metaphorical name for an ankle or wrist bone as noted above (§2.10).⁴⁹ As a further tentative alternative, one might consider deriving the Gaelic form from a compound consisting of *mug* (‘slave’) and *iärn* (‘iron’), i.e. **mugarn* (without palatalisation of *-g-* after *u*;

⁴⁹ The editors of *eDIL* (s.v. 2 *orn*) translate *orn* speculatively as ‘bar or bolt’. In O’Davoren’s Glossary it occurs as part of a closing, tying or locking mechanism for a cattle-pound (O’Dav 485, §1615).

cf. Greene 1973: 128), meaning ‘slave-iron; iron used for slaves; fetter(s)’,⁵⁰ whereby the shackles associated with the ankle and wrist came via metonymy to represent the restrained part of the anatomy, i.e. the ankles or wrists.⁵¹ A perceived connection with *dorn* (‘hand, fist’) would account for the variants *mudorn* and *mugdorn*. However, the phonological details of such a derivation are not unproblematic and would require more space to discuss than is available here.

MacBain ([1896] 1982: s.v.) suggests a possible link with Welsh *migwrn* (‘ankle, joint’) and Breton *migorn* (‘cartilage’). Despite the superficial similarities, however, the phonological difficulties suggest there can be no direct relationship between the Gaelic and British forms unless the expected Gaelic form **múcharn* was reshaped as a result of folk etymology based on a perceived connection with *dorn* but the long vowel quantity would still be problematic for Gaelic as we might expect **múdorn*.⁵²

Reflexes of *mudharn* occur in Ireland and Scotland. The Irish variants are *múrna*, *múirle*, *múrnán*, *múrlán* and the Scottish variants are *mughairne*, *mùrainn*, *mughairle*. In Ireland, these forms are found throughout northern dialects and as far south as Galway and Clare. In Scotland, we find these forms only in the south-western Argyllshire dialects of Arran, Kintyre, Gigha, Islay, Jura and parts of Mid-Argyll. See Map 4. This patterning provides further testimony for the close dialect affinities between northern Ireland and south-west Argyllshire, which is evidenced by many other dialect features; see, for instance, Ó Baoill (1978). The modern distribution indicates that *mudharn* is predominantly a northern Irish and south-western Scottish Gaelic form and suggests that this distribution may be considerably old. It occurs in the following forms in the fifteenth-century Irish surgical text, *Anathomia Gydo*, which survives mostly in manuscripts of the sixteenth century and which was adapted into Irish by the Ulster physician Cormac Mac Duinnshléibhe from Guy de Chauliac’s (c. 1295–1368) *De anathomia*, the opening treatise of the

⁵⁰ On the use of *iärn* in this context we may compare *íarnaide* (‘an iron implement or fitting, weapon, fetter’) (*eDIL* s.v.).

⁵¹ A similar development is found in English ‘shackle-bone’, which means ‘wrist’ or ‘knuckle-bone’ (*OED* s.v.). We may also compare the similar metonymical developments, albeit in the opposite direction, in Scottish Gaelic *speireach* (‘cow-fetter, foot fetter’ (MacBain [1896] 1982: 338), and Irish *seir(th)ín* (‘hobble (on sheep)’ (T. Ó Máille 1937: 60; T.S. Ó Máille 1974: 195). Perhaps Scottish Gaelic *luarach* (‘chain, milking fetter, fetters’) is a similar development based on *lúa* (‘heel, foot, hoof’) and influenced by *buarach* (‘cow-fetter’).

⁵² The Brittonic forms may contain the element **kornu-* (‘horn’), also present in Welsh *llosgwrn* (‘tail, rear end’) and *asgwrn* (‘bone’) (Schrijver 1995: 53–55). Ernault (1901, cited in Griffith 2010) derives the first element from **mūso-korno-* (‘muscle(-like)-bone’). Schrijver (1995: 53) derives the first element from *mīsV-* (< PIE **mēms* ‘meat, member’; cf. Old Gaelic *mír* < **mēmsro-*) + *kurnV-* (‘horn’). Clearly, this would not work for Gaelic. In a Gaelic cognate of the British forms we would expect *ch x* rather than *ð* or *ɣ*. A derivation from **múdorn* is compatible with the Modern Irish forms (with the exception of *múrlán* (§2.11.4)) but would require vowel shortening in hiatus following the vocalisation of the intervocalic fricative in Scottish Gaelic dialects, which is not impossible.

latter's *Inventarium sive Chirurgia Magna*: *mudornn*, *mudorn* (dat. sg.); *mudorn* (gen. pl.); *moidhuirnn*, *mudoirn* (gen. sg.) (Ní Ghallchobhair 2014: 146, §2.8.2; 102, §2.4.8; 146, §2.8.4).

2.11.1 *múrna*

In *LASID* the form *múrna* is reported for a number of Donegal dialects: Inishowen (*LASID* IV: q. 461, pt 68), Fanad (pt 69), Gortahork (pt 74) and Ros Goill (Lúcás 1986: 32). In Inishowen, *múrna* **mû:rnə** is glossed as plural 'ankles' and alternates with *múirle* **mu:rl'ɛ**. In Fanad, *múrna* **mu:rnə** is singular with plural *múirní* **mu:rn'ɪ**, which varies with *buin(n)teogaí* **bɒn't'ɔgi** (§2.4 above) and which is glossed as 'protruding bones in foot or arm' (*LASID* IV: 45, vocabulary, s.v. *múrna*). *Múrna* **mu:rnə** in Gortahork is singular. I have not noted the form *múrn* / *mugharn* from a modern Irish source but the headword in Lhuyd's 'Irish-English Dictionary' in his *Archaeologia Britannica* ([1707] 1971: s.v.) is *mudharn*.

The intervocalic fricative has been lost and vowels coalesced with compensatory lengthening resulting in a long monophthong vowel *ú*. On the development of final *-a* in *múrn* < *mugharn*, if it is not in origin a plural marker, we may compare the development seen in *dorn* ('fist') > *dorna* (*LASID* IV, qq. 455, 456, pts 68, 69, 70, 74);⁵³ cf. also *Carna* < *carn* and *cora* < *corn* (Ó Curnáin 2007, I: 363-64, §1.355).

2.11.2 *múirle*

The palatalised quality of the cluster *rl* in the Inishowen variant *múirle* may represent a backformation based on a plural form *múirlí*, itself a development from *múirní* through dissimilation of the nasals *m* and *n*, or perhaps influenced by the development *múrnán* > *múrlán* in the diminutive form, for which see §§2.11.3, 2.11.4; cf. also *mughairle*, *mughraile* (§§2.11.6, 2.11.7)

2.11.3 *múrnán*, *mórnan*

Múrnán < *mugharnán* is the diminutive form of *mugharn* and is attested in the genitive plural form *mudhornan* in a sixteenth-seventeenth-century medical text contained in NLS MS Adv. 72.1.2, cited by Mackinnon (1912: 15) and in *eDIL* (s.v. *mudornán*). *Múrnán* occurs in Donegal dialects (*LASID* IV q. 461, pts 74a, 78, 79, 80, 83, 86a; cf. Quiggin 1906: 22, §50, etc.). Hamilton (1974: 304) notes the variants *múrnán* **mu:rnən** and *mórnan* **mo:rnən** for Tory Island. Art Hughes (personal communication) recorded the following singular and plural forms from a speaker from Gleann Fhinne, Co. Donegal, who was born c. 1910: *murnán* **mörnən**, pl. *murnachain* **mörnəxən'**.

⁵³ The form *múrna* is equivalent to an original historical accusative plural form *mugharna*.

Cnámh (*an*) *m(h)urnáin* ('ankle-bone') also occurs in Irish (*FGB* s.v. *cnámh*); cf. *alt murnáin* (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 25).

2.11.4 *múrlán* (*mudharlán*, *mugharlán*)

Múrlán, a derivative of *múrnán* through dissimilation of the *n* sounds, is evidenced in O'Reilly's ([1817] 1864: s.v. *mudhurlán*) and Dinneen's ([1927] 1953: s.v. *mugharlán*) dictionaries; cf. *eDIL* (s.v. *mudornán*). Lhuyd's 'Irish-English Dictionary' ([1707] 1971: s.v. *mudharn*) has the plural form *mugharláin*. In *LASID*, it is reported for three dialects: Fanore, Co. Clare (pt 24), Camderry, Co. Galway (pt 33) and Kilmovee, Co. Mayo (pt 62), where the Anglo-Irish plural form *múrláns* **mu:rla:ns** is reported by Wagner (*LASID* III q. 461). Hamilton (1974: 304) notes *murlán* (but with short *u*) in *murlán an dorais* ('the door-knob'). Ó Dónaill (*FGB* s.v.), who glosses *murlán* as 'knob, small rounded object, tiny ball, knuckle-bone', takes this to be the same word as *múrnán*; cf. *mughairle* (§2.11.6).

2.11.5 *mughairne*, *mughairn*

In *SGDS* returns, *mughairne* **mũʔərn'ə** occurs in Arran, Kintyre,⁵⁴ Gigha and Jura, although Jones (2010: 264) reports *mughairn* for Jura; MacAlpine ([1832] 1955: 185) also has *mughairn* (masc.) and marks it as a specifically Islay form; Dwelly cites this latter form incorrectly as *mugharn*, and does not record the form *mughairne* (Dwelly s.v. *mugharn*).⁵⁵ *Muthairn* occurs in the tale 'Ridire na Sgiatha Deirge', collected by J.F. Campbell ([1860] 1983, II: 474) from a Colonsay and an Islay informant. Lhuyd records *mŵrny* (*mughairne*) as the Argyllshire form, which Campbell and Thomson (1963: 144, §XII.87; 270, 275) transcribe as *muthairne*. In modern dialect sources, *mughairn(e)* is confined to southwest Argyllshire. That it was more widely known is evidenced by the fact that Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair has *muthairne*, albeit in second place to *aobrunn* for 'ankle' (A. MacDonald 1741: 16). Holmer reports it for Rathlin as *mughairne* **mʌərn'ə**, **mʌrn'ə** (1942: 218).

The form *mughairne* can be explained in a variety of ways: (1) it could be a backformation based on a plural form *mughairne(an)*, for which see *muthairnean*, the plural of *muthairn*, given in Armstrong (1825: 412); (2) it may represent a genitive singular form, perhaps arising from the likes of **cnà(i)mh na mughairne*; note that Armstrong notes *muthairn* as feminine; (3) it may represent a development of oblique feminine *mughairn*, with added final *-ə*; see §2.1.10 above; (4) it may represent a formation from *mugharn* with the singulative ending *-ne*, for which see T.F. O'Rahilly (1929: 66-69);

⁵⁴ Cf. *mughairne* **mũʔərn'ə** (*LASID* IV 214, q. 461 (Kintyre)).

⁵⁵ Shaw (1780: s.vv.) has both *mudharn* and *muthairne*. *Stòr-Dàta* (25, s.v. *ankle*) has *muthairne*.

(4) it may have been influenced by *muthairn* ('little mother, dear little mother'), apparently a conflation of *mùirn* and *màthair*; see *CG* II 332.

2.11.6 *mughairle*

Mughairle **mũ-ərl'ə** seems to be a development of *mughairne*, perhaps influenced by words such as *mugairle* ('bunch of nuts'—Glenmoriston) and *ma-gairle* ('testicle, stone') (*Dwelly* s.vv.). It occurs in Islay (*SGDS* pts 53, 54, 56), Kintyre and South Knapdale (pts 42, 43); *muthairle* **mũʔərl'ə** was recorded in Port Charlotte and Bowmore, Islay in December 1968 (*DASG-FA*).

2.11.7 *mughraile*

Calder ([1923]: 191, §136) notes feminine *mughraile* for Islay, which, if not a misprint, represents a metathesised form of *mughairle*.

2.11.8 *mùrainn*

Mùrainn **mũ:ɾɪp** occurs in North Knapdale, Mid-Argyll (*SGDS* pt 50) and is a development of *mughairn(e)* with *r*-metathesis. Its development would appear to be similar to that evidenced in *lárac* (T.F. O'Rahilly 1942a).

2.12 *muircinn*

The forms *muircinn* **muɾk'ɪm** and *murcainn* **muɾkɪm** (*sic k*) occur in North Sutherland (*SGDS* pts 136 and 138 respectively). Robertson records *muircinn* for Sutherland, suggesting that this represents an oblique form of *muirceann* (1907a: 123); *Stòr-Dàta* (25, s.v. *ankle*) has both *muircinn* (fem.) and *muircean* (masc.), the latter possibly being an error for *muirceann*, cited from Robertson in *Dwelly* (s.v. *muircinn*). *Muircinn* is also the form reported by Grannd (2013: 47) for the Melness and Bettyhill areas of Sutherland.

If *muircinn* / *murcainn* is related to *mulc* ('a shapeless lump, lump'), *mulcan* ('a pustule') (MacBain [1896] 1982: 257) and / or *murcan* ('a lump fish') (*Dwelly* s.v.),⁵⁶ it would represent another metaphorical name.⁵⁷ The same word may be present in the Lewis form *muircean*, recorded in *DASG-FA* as part of the gloss for *earball-sàile* **wɾwɔtsa:lə** [*sic*], a form of seaweed:⁵⁸ 'the part of the "muircean" nearest the rock. End part. Not so good for eating'. MacBain has the Lewis form as *mircean* ([1896] 1982: 251); cf. *Dwelly* (s.v.) who glosses *mircean* as 'badderlocks'.

⁵⁶ This can be traced back to John Lightfoot's *Flora Scotica* (1777–92, I: 54), with the Gaelic form most likely having been provided by the Rev. John Stuart of Luss.

⁵⁷ Could there be a relation with Latin *muicro* ('sharp point or edge')? Cf. Stokes cited in MacBain ([1896] 1982: 255).

⁵⁸ **w** presumably represents **u** here.

2.13 *mwnnal* (y) *c(h)ass*

The forms *mwnnal y chass* and *mwnnal cass*, literally ‘(the) neck of the foot’, occurs in Manx: Cregeen (1835: 118) translates *mwannal cass* as ‘the small of the leg’ as does Kelly (1866: 136) who has *mwnnal-y-chass*. However, it is clear from the anecdote he provides that it could also mean ‘ankle’:

A Manksman meant to inform an Englishman that he felt his ankles, or the small of his leg, cold. ‘I feel,’ said he, ‘the necks of my legs very cold,’ ‘Where is that?’ said the Englishman. ‘No, no,’ said the Manksman, ‘I mean to say, the wrists of my legs are cold,’ ‘I am just as wise,’ says the Englishman, ‘as I was before.’

We may compare Manx *mwnnal-y-laue* (Kelly 1866: 136) and *mwannal y laue* (‘wrist’) (Broderick 1984–86, II: 310). John O’Brien (1768: 357) has *muineàl na laimhe* (‘the wrist’) for Irish in his eighteenth-century Irish dictionary. Armstrong (1825: 409) also has this for Scottish Gaelic as *muineal na laimh* (‘the wrist’), which *Dwelly* (s.v. *muineal*) has as *muineal na làimhe* and adds that it is ‘a jocular expression’.

2.14 *rúitín*

Rúitín occurs in Connacht in Counties Galway and Mayo. It is also used with the meaning of ‘fetlock’, ‘cleft hoof’, ‘ankle-bone’, ‘knuckle-bone’ (*FGB* s.v.); cf. *rúitín* (‘cleft hoof’) from West Limerick in Ó Muirithe (2000: 162). Lhuyd’s ‘Irish-English Dictionary’ ([1707] 1971: s.v.) has *ruitín* (‘the ankle-bone’); cf. *ruitín* (‘heel of a calf’ (Hamilton 1974: 314); cf. *rùitìn* (O’Brien 1768: 410). In Kilmovee, Co. Mayo (*LASID* III q. 461, pt 62), where *múrlán* is the word used for ‘ankle’, *rúitín* through metonymy, develops the meaning ‘instep’. For Scottish Gaelic, Armstrong (1825: 476) has *ruitean* (‘ankle-bone, fetlock, pastern’) with apparently short *u*; cf. *Dwelly* (s.vv. *each*, *ruitean*). This may be for **rùitean* and I take it here to have the same underlying formation as Irish *rúitín*.

Rúitín is a diminutive of *rúta* (a borrowing from English *root*), which means ‘root (of plant or tree), stump’ (*FGB* s.vv. *rúta*¹, *rúitín*). In the meaning ‘ankle’ it is a metaphorical extension of an underlying meaning of ‘small stump’. For the palatalising effect of the diminutive ending *-ín* in Irish, see de Bhaldraithe (1990). We may compare: (1) Tyrone *rúta* (‘a handle of a scythe’, pl. *rútanna*) (Stockman and Wagner 1965: 97); (2) *rùtan* (‘horn of a roebuck’) (MacBain [1896] 1982: 298); (3) North Uist *rùdan* **ṛy:ḡān** (‘knuckle’) (*DASG-FA*), also attested in *DASG-FA* for Tiree, Coll and Aultbea (Ross-shire). *Dwelly* (s.v.) notes the meaning of *rùdan* as ‘knuckle; pastern—the part

of a horse's foot between ankle and hoof [i.e. fetter bone]; tendon'.⁵⁹ We may also compare the vowel-initial Argyll form *ùtan* ('knuckle') (*Dwelly* s.v. *ùtan*);⁶⁰ compare also *ughdain* ('knuckle'), cited by Dwelly from Bannatyne's unpublished manuscript where it is noted as 'vulgar' (*Dwelly* s.v. *ughdain*); cf. also Lewis (Barvas) *ódan* ('knuckle') (*DASG-FA*), where acute *ó* presumably indicates *o:* rather than *ɔ:*.⁶¹ Morag MacLeod from Scalpay, Harris, has *ódanan* ('knuckles') and confirms the high-mid vowel [o:] (personal communication).

The form *ruithin*, presumably for *rúitín*, occurs in the fifteenth-century Irish surgical text, *Anathomia Gydo*, which survives mostly in manuscripts of the sixteenth century (Ní Ghallochobhair 2014: 148, §2.8.7; 185).

2.15 *seirean*

Robertson (1900: 39) reports *seirean* ('ankle') for Perthshire (Strathtay and Loch Tay); cf. *Stòr-Dàta* (25, s.v. *ankle*). Armstrong (1825: s.v.) has this word but glosses it as 'a shank, a leg; in derision, a person having small legs'; cf. MacBain ([1896] 1982: 307), who glosses *seirean* as 'a shank, leg, spindle-shanked person'. Dwelly has *seirein* ('pastern') (Clyne 1991: s.v. *each*). *Seir-ea* / *seirein* is a diminutive form of *seir*, which the editors of *eDIL* gloss hesitantly as 'ankle': 'of humans, heel [...], **ankle** (?) [emphasis added]; of horses or dogs, the part of the leg between the hough and the fetlock (?), shank (?)'. The Perthshire evidence provides some support for interpreting earlier *seir* as 'ankle' in some cases. Bannatyne's unpublished manuscript dictionary glosses *seirean* as 'pastern' (*Dwelly* s.v.). T.F. O'Rahilly (1927: 26, §6) claims in error that *seir* 'is now obsolete, though most Irish dictionaries retain it'. In his *An Béal Beo*, Tomás Ó Máille differentiates between *seir* and *speir* as follows:

'Seir atá ar an bhféith atá aníos ón tsáil. Bíonn speir suas ón rúitín go glúin sa gcapall. Déarfadh duine fá chapall, "Bí sí bán go seir."' ('*Seir* is the fetlock up from the heel. The *speir* is from the ankle to the knee in a horse. You would say about a horse: "She was white to the fetlock."') (T. Ó Máille 1937: 99).⁶²

Tomás Seosamh Ó Máille does not have *seir* in his *Liosta Focal as Ros Muc* although he has the derivative *seirín* ('hobble (on sheep)') (1974: 195; cf. *seirín* ~ *seirhín*; T. Ó Máille 1937: 60). Tomás de Bhaldraithe (1972: 279, §5) notes *seir(e)* ('haugh') with plural *seiriúcháí*, as a common word in the

⁵⁹ *Dwelly* conflates *rùtan* ('little ram, ridgling'), a diminutive of *rùta* ('ram'), a borrowing from Norse *hrútr* (MacBain [1896] 1982: 298), with *rùtan* ('horn of a roebuck'), which must be a diminutive based on a borrowing of English *root* or possibly Scandinavian *rót*.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Dwelly* (s.vv. *udan*, *utag*).

⁶¹ Cf. Lewis (Barvas) *uan ódanach* ('a deformed lamb walking as if on its knuckles') (*DASG-FA*). *Dwelly* also notes *odan* as 'Lewis for *rùdan*, *knuckle*'.

⁶² My translation; T. Ó Máille (1937: 203) translates *seir* as 'fetlock'.

Irish of Cois Fharraige; he also notes it from Corca Dhuibhne with the meaning of a cord made of sheep wool that is tied tightly on a sheep's haugh. Ó Curnáin notes *seire* ('hamstring (livestock)') for Iorras Aithneach in Galway (2007, IV: 2590).

Seir is cognate with Welsh *ffer* ('ankle') (Lewis and Pedersen [1937] 1961: 18, §25; Thurneysen ([1946] 1993: 139, §226, 1(b)). It derives from **sper-* with initial *s-* deriving from **sp-* via **sw-* and has lenited forms in *f-* / *ph-*, e.g. *tria a dí pherid* ('through his two heels') (C. O'Rahilly 1976: 43.1378; Best and Bergin 1929: 177.5698; McCone 1996: 44).

2.16 *speir*

MacBain's ([1896] 1982: 338) gloss on *speir* includes 'ankle': 'hoof or ham of cattle, claw, talon, **ankle** and thereabouts of the human leg' [emphasis added]. In Islay and Glenurquhart, *speir* can refer to the 'joint corresponding to the knee on a horse's hindlegs' (*DASG-FA*); cf. *speir* ('the joint in the hind-leg of an animal corresponding in position with the knee of the fore-leg') (Dieckhoff 1932: 154). For *speir* in Irish, see T. Ó Máille (1937: 99) and *FGB* (s.v. *speir*¹).

Speir most likely represents a blend between older nominative *seir* and lenited *feir(-)* / *pheir(-)*, deriving from **sfeir(-)* with defricativisation of *f* to *p* following *s*,⁶³ or, alternatively, it may represent a contamination product based on nominative *seir* and a backformation **peir(-)* from lenited *feir(-)*; we may compare Scottish Gaelic *piuthar* which derives from **fïür*, the lenited form of *siür* ('sister') < **swesōr-* (Calder [1923]: 57, §52; Lewis and Pedersen [1937] 1961: 129, §224.5; Thurneysen [1946] 1993: 215, §336; Hamp 2010: 5). Both scenarios result in prothetic *s-* being added to a reflex of lenited *seir*.⁶⁴

2.17 *troigh* [?]

Reflexes of *troigh* ('foot') occur in *SGDS* returns for 'ankle' in North Sutherland (pts 137 and 139). It is possible that the superordinate form *troigh* has taken on the meaning of a subordinate meronym, in this case 'ankle', although I have not noted any other instances of *troigh* with the meaning 'ankle' from other sources. It does not occur, for instance, in Grannd's *Gàidhlig Dhùthaich Mhic Aoidh* (Sutherland) where *troigh* occurs with the meaning 'foot (of measurement)' (Grannd 2013: 133). This form must therefore be treated with caution.

⁶³ If so, this represents a further instance of the tendency in Gaelic to defricativise fricatives in clusters containing other continuants (Ó Maolalaigh 2016a: 102, n. 52).

⁶⁴ Cf. '[T]he current *speir* is formed from [f]eir (or from a de-aspirated **peir*), with prothetic *s-*' (T.F. O'Rahilly 1927: 26, §6).

2.18 *ubhall*

Ubhall, literally ‘apple’, means ‘ankle’ in parts of Perthshire (*ubhal na cas*, *SGDS* 46, pt 192); *ubhall do chas*, *ubhall mo chas* (Ó Murchú 1989: 422) and Easter Ross ([*an*] *t-ubhal* **du.ɫ**⁶⁵, *SGDS* 46, pt 155); cf. *ubhal na coise* (‘ankle’) (*Dwelly* s.v.; *Stòr-Dàta* 25, s.v. *ankle*). Like, *uinnean*, *ruitin* (and possibly *cuilean*) it represents a metaphorical name based on a round bulging shape. With it, we may compare similar metaphorical usages such as *ubhal a’ chrua-chain* (‘the knot-like bone at the hip-joint’), *ubhal an sgòrnain* (‘the ball of the throttle’), *ubhall na leise* (‘the hip joint’) (*Dwelly* s.vv.).

2.19 *uinnean*

Uinnean, pronounced variously as **õpan** and **ĩpan**, is found in north-eastern Scottish Gaelic dialects in eastern Inverness-shire, eastern Ross-shire and eastern Sutherland, and seems to mean both ‘ankle’ and ‘onion’ in these dialects; cf. Dorian (1978: 54, 87). Forms with initial **ĩ**, found in eastern Ross-shire and eastern Sutherland (*SGDS* pts 141–45, 149–53, 156–157; cf. *ESG* 54, 87; Robertson 1907a: 122), represent fronted variants of an original //u// vowel; we may compare realisations with **ĩ** of *uinneag* throughout most of Sutherland and in parts of eastern Ross-shire (*SGDS* 885, pts 131–53). *Stòr-Dàta* (25, s.v. *ankle*) has *innean* and *aoinean*, which I take to be orthographic variants of *uinnean*. The meaning ‘ankle’ represents a metaphorical use of *uinnean* (‘onion’) and clearly refers to the bulging shape of an onion. Robertson (1907a: 122) notes that in Farr, *uinnean* means ‘the protuberance at the root joint of the little toe’. It is perhaps possible that *innean* (‘anvil’), which has its protruding parts, may also be involved here; *uinnean* occurs for *innean* (‘anvil’) in: “‘*Nach cearr a nis nach robh m’ord agus m’uinnean agam!*’” (‘“Now is it not a pity that I have not my hammer and my anvil!”’) [emphasis added] (*CG* v 268, 269).

3. Conclusion

The evidence discussed here relating to the nineteen (possibly twenty) etymons meaning ‘ankle’ reveals a significant degree of creativity and flexibility in lexical and semantic development in the Gaelic languages, particularly in Scottish Gaelic. This contrasts markedly with other languages such as English where there is little historical lexical variation in words for ‘ankle’. The *Historical Thesaurus of English* shows as synonyms for ‘ankle’ only ‘wrist’, ‘hanckleth’ (based on ‘ankle’ and ‘lith’ (‘limb’)) and ‘pastern’.⁶⁵ The main semantic developments are descriptive, metaphorical and metonymical:

⁶⁵ I am grateful to Wendy Anderson for discussing this with me.

Descriptive / Metaphorical: *adhbrann*, *buinnean*, *buin(n)teog* [?], *caol na coise*, *cnàimh-beag*, *cuilean*, *luirg*, *mudharn* [?] (depending on etymology), *muircinn*, *mwinnal* (y) *c(h)ass*, *rúitín*, *ubhall*, *uinnean*

Metonymical: *alt*, *luidhean*, *luirgeann*, *mudharn* [?], *seirean*, *speir*, *troigh* [?]

Phonological developments in the case of *adhbrann* have led to over fifty distinct phonological forms. The presence of diminutives is found in a number of cases, e.g. *adhbran*, *adhbaran*, *adhrban*, *buinnean*, *buin(n)teog*, *cuilean*, *luidhean*, *luinnean*, *múrnán*, *mórnán*, *múrlán*, *rúitín*, *seirean*. Dialect contact has led to the creation of new mixed lexical forms such as *luinnean*, based on *luidhean* and *uinnean*; and presumably also in the case of *adhbarann*, *adhbaránn*, *adhbaran*, based on *adhbrann* and *adhbarn*. The conservative nature of Scottish Gaelic is seen in the retention of *luidhean*, based on older *luë*, and possibly in the retention of *-arn(-)* reflexes of **odbarn*. The modern distribution of forms is suggestive of earlier historical dialectal distributions, with *mudharn*, *adhbrann* / *adhbarn* and *luidhean* being predominantly or exclusively northern forms, at least in the sense of ‘ankle’. However, the appearance of (*f*)*adhbairne* (‘a large globular shape’) in Munster warns us against lending too much weight to modern geographical distributions of particular etymons as O’Rahilly ([1932] 1976: 244) had cautioned almost a century ago.⁶⁶

University of Glasgow

Abbreviations

CG = *Carmina Gadelica: Hymns and Incantations*. 6 Vols. Carmichael, Alexander (comp.) ([1900] 1928-71) Vols 1-5, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; Vol. 6, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.

CIH = *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*. 6 Vols. Binchy, Daniel A. (ed.) (1978) Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

DASG = *Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic / Dachaigh airson Stòras na Gàidhlig*. Available at www.dasg.ac.uk.

DASG-FA = *Fieldwork Archive / Faclan bhon t-Sluagh*, Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic / Dachaigh airson Stòras na Gàidhlig. Available at www.dasg.ac.uk/fieldwork.

eDIL = *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, electronic edition. Available at <http://www.dil.ie>.

⁶⁶ My thanks to Brian Ó Curnáin who read an early draft of this paper and provided useful comments. I am also indebted to David Stifter who discussed the etymology of *adhbrann* / *adhbarn* with me and to Neil Erskine for the maps.

Dwelly = *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*. Dwelly, Edward (comp.) ([1901–11] 1977) Glasgow: Gairm.

FGB = *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*. Ó Dónaill, Niall (comp.) ([1977] 1998) Baile Átha Cliath: An Gúm.

LASID = *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*. 4 Vols. Wagner, Heinrich (comp.) (1958–69) Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

LEIA = *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*. Vendryes, Joseph (comp.) (1959–) Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

LU = *Lebor na hUidre: Book of the Dun Cow*. Best, Richard I., & Osborn Bergin (eds) (1929) Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

O'Dav. = O'Davoren's Glossary. Stokes, Whitley (ed.) (1903–04). *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* II, 197–232, 233–504.

OED = *Oxford English Dictionary*. Available at www.oed.com.

SGDS = *Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland*. 5 Vols. Ó Dochartaigh, Cathair (ed.) (1994–97) Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Stòr-Dàta = *An Stòr-Dàta Briathrachais Gàidhlig: The Gaelic Terminology Database*. (1993) An Teanga: Clò Ostaig.

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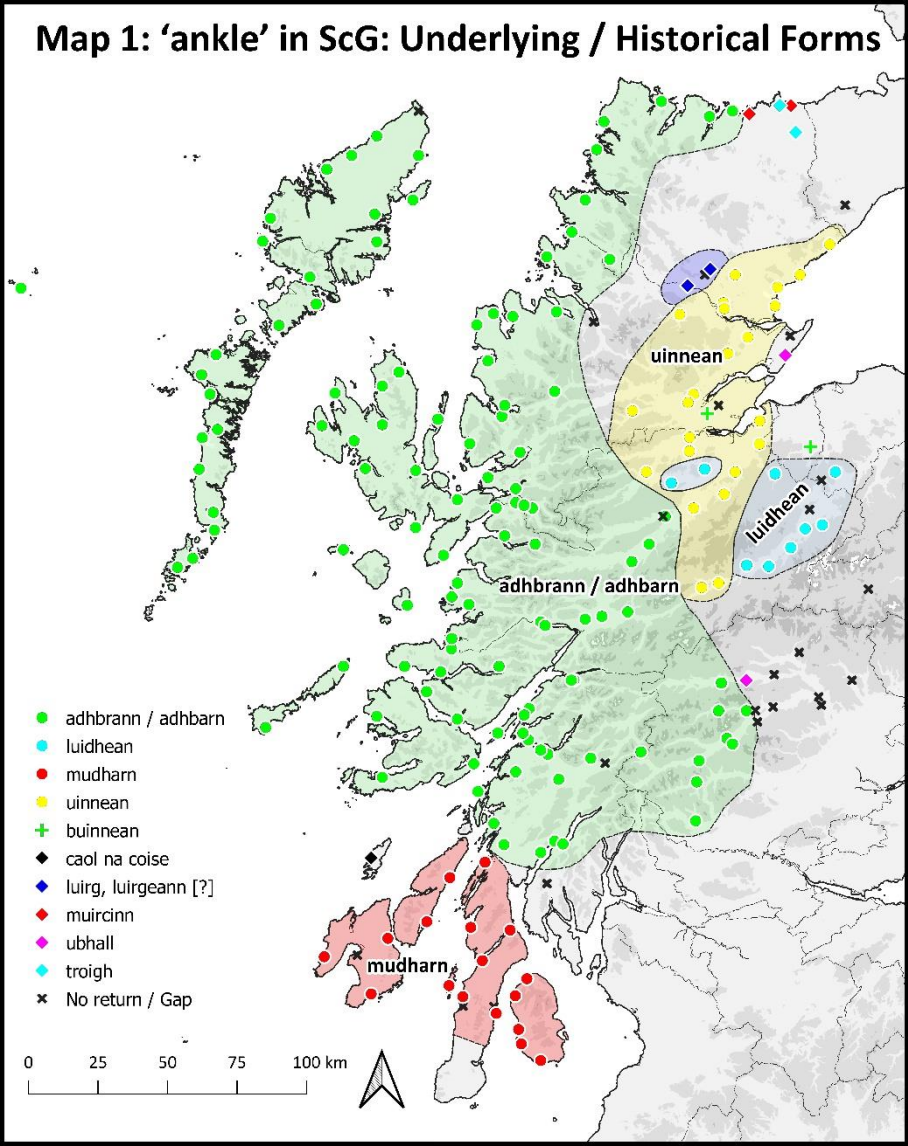
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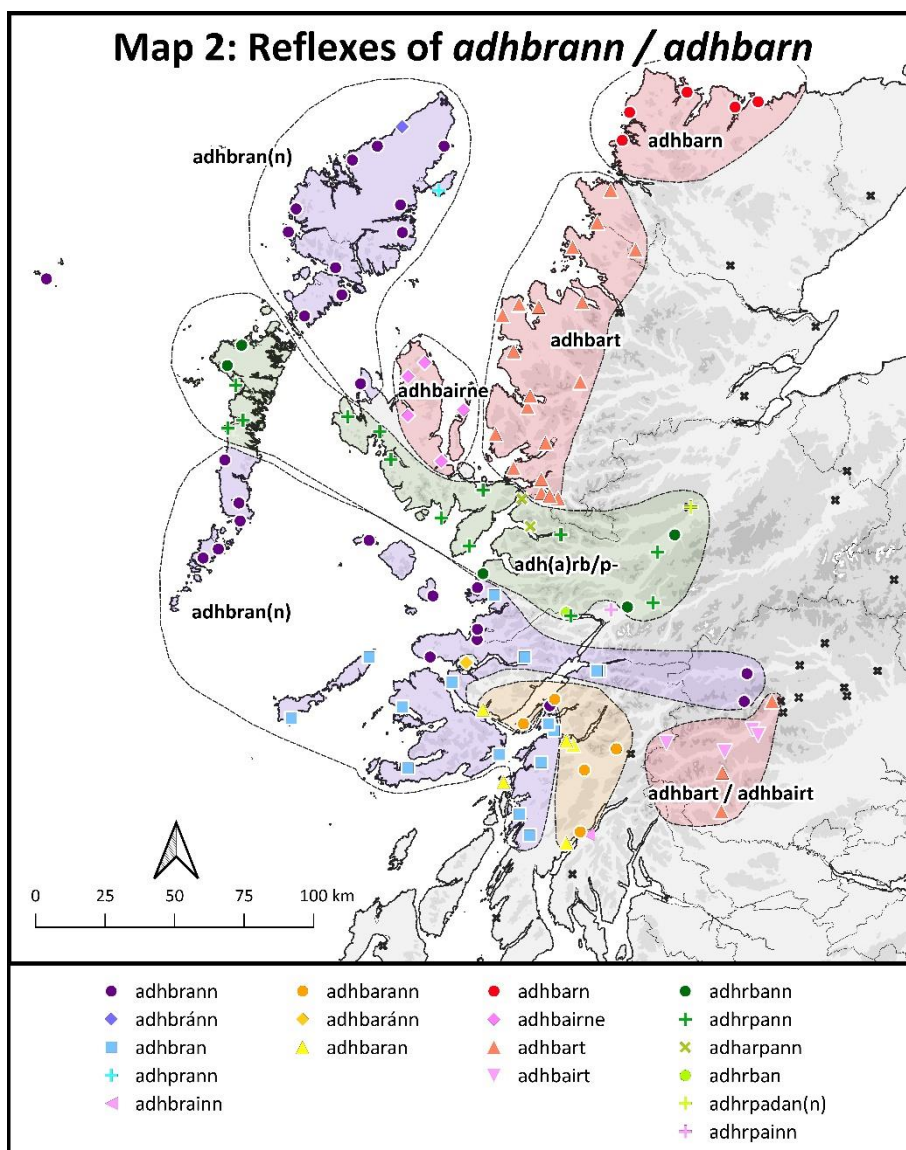
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Map 2: Reflexes of *adhbrann* / *adhbarn*



MAP 3: *Non-adhbrann / adhbar* forms

